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You cannot deprive me of the rights and privileges you have, and expect to keep them forever.

Another Attempt Fails

Pro-Jordanians' Call to Recognise Israel Falls on Deaf Ears

Reports from the West Bank and Gaza Strip indicate that the group of pro-Jordanians have failed to mobilise popular support for a programme of confederation with Jordan and to delegate King Hussein to speak on behalf of Palestinians instead of the PLO.

It has been learned that they were forced to withdraw their document and that they have covered the gathering of signatures with a veil of strict secrecy. The document called upon the PLO to recognise UN Resolutions 242, 338 and what is called mutual and timely reciprocal recognition with Israel. It also states that the signators see in the Reagan plan "some positive elements."

Beit Jala's appointed mayor said in an interview with the Israeli Arabic language daily *Al Anba* that the document was withdrawn because of opposition from individuals he called "extremist." He also said that he had signed the document along with Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem, and Jamil Sabri, the appointed mayor of Jericho. . . .

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Some of those responsible for the document tried to insert amendments to the original text. The most important change was the request for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people while leaving in the previously mentioned points. This change was rejected by the majority of the original signators, and sources close to the pro-Jordanian figures say that an attempt is being made to find a change that could be agreed on by all.

Observers note that the attempts are aimed at giving the public the feeling that there is a political entity which represents a sector of the Palestinian people, besides the PLO. These observers say it is for the same reason that Israeli authorities held what was called the Hebron Village League conference under the shadow of a general curfew over large parts of the city.

Reports coming from the Gaza Strip, for example, talked about a mayor, Gaza figures, lawyers and doctors suggesting to fellow Gazans that they announce support for confederation and what is called the Jordanian-Palestinian rapprochement in the local press. One doctor is said to have replied that he would leave this matter to the national institutions in the Strip. A very responsible figure replied, "the national institutions have been finished for a long while now."

Military government circles, and diplomats have expressed their regret at the certain defeat of the Jordanian attempts. A military officer questioned a leading figure for over an hour as to why he refused to sign the document which the Israeli officer described as the first document prepared and signed by the free will of the residents without any outside pressure or orders.

A consular of one of the countries friendly with Jordan expressed his disappointment with the failure. He said, "Israel has won and you should reap the results of her victory. Why do you refuse that?"

Those in Bethlehem who rejected the "peace document" drafted a new statement. It was signed by unions, clubs, institutions and youth centers which do not receive Jordanian financial aid. Sixteen institutions signed the statement as well as journalists, engineers, doctors, teachers, unionists, priests, council members, lawyers, heads of women's federations and other highly respected individuals.

The statement commented, "As Palestinians we belong to the Arab nation, and we see that Arab unity must be based on democracy, and freedom in the Arab world which will allow the masses to determine their destinies and realise their potential and thus accomplish national unity by placing all energies in the service of the liberation battle."

The signatories of the statement confirmed their rejection of the American initiative and its Jordanian interpretation because it contradicts the rights of our people; the rejection of the moves of Arab regimes to build bridges between the Fez declarations and the Reagan plan and the freeing of all democratic freedoms in the Arab countries in order that our people be sufficiently mobilised to stand up to the imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and in order for the Arab people to positively contribute in this struggle. (Translation: Al Talia

THIS WEEK AT THE CENSOR

Number of original articles sent to censor	29
Number of articles totally censored out	15
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	2
Number of articles partially censored but used	7
Number of articles passed	5

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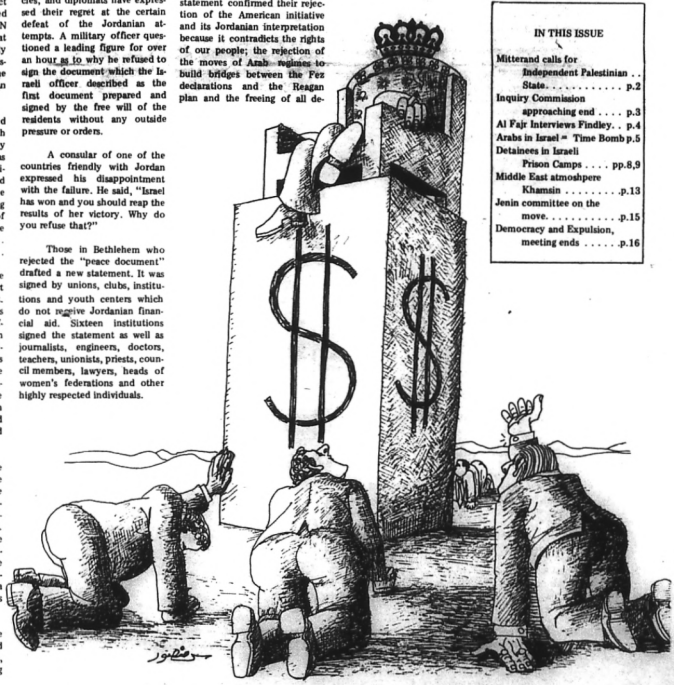

A scene at ruined Ain al-Hilwe camp, near Sidon, where a crush of refugees wait for newly arrived allocations of blankets, flour, sugar and sardines.

BULLET PROOF HOUSES

On the Saturday November 20 Israel Radio news broadcast in English, the Sidon director of UNRWA, Dennis Brown, discussed housing projects for the Ain al-Hilwe camp refugee population. He touted the benefits of UNRWA provided "tental accommodation" and expressed exasperation that refugee families were not enthused about the new lodging facilities. "Do they want us to fly in Miami Beach condominiums?" he asked Israel radio.

Two of UNRWA's new tents were set afire two weeks ago in a unique demonstration by refugees against a return to tent life which, they say, is inadequate for weathering winter rains. The Palestinian refugees who remained or returned to camps in the South are also concerned about whether they will be permitted to remain in the area in the long term. They see UNRWA's preference for tents over permitting the refugees to rebuild with concrete and cement as a sign that they may be soon expelled to the Beqa'a, north or elsewhere.

Brown, formerly UNRWA director in Gaza, and soon to return there, was invited to a smoothing-over meeting with Israeli and UNRWA officials in Lebanon after he openly accused Israel of inciting refugees against accepting tents in favor of buying prefabricated houses from Israeli private contractors. The houses, 40 meters square, were displayed for sale, through pictures only at first, at US $ 5-8000 each.

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. . . . . The material, however, was to be used for retaining walls and minimal repairs of existing structures. An Israeli offer of 50 free prefabricated houses to be distributed through UNRWA to the neediest families in Ain al-Hilweh and Rashidiyeh camps was ultimately rejected because of the impossibility of determining who was "neediest."

The rift between Israeli and UNRWA officials now apparently healed, Israel may proceed to hock its pre-fabs — developed originally for instant settlement-building — to homeless Palestinians. One demand the refugees are making in the specifications is that the walls be bullet proof.

ISRAELI POLICE OFFICER CHARGED WITH BRIBERY

Deputy police commander of the Bethlehem area, Yehoshua' Shabi, was remanded for one week by a Jerusalem Magistrates Court, November 19.

Shabi was arrested last Friday in the act of receiving a bribe from an Arab resident. The police also detained the person who offered the bribe.

During the investigation that followed, five other Palestinian residents were detained on charges of regularly offering bribes to the officer.

The police officer, who continues to deny the charges, is accused of accepting cash, valuables, as well as gifts of meat, vegetables and fruit. He has been in the Israeli police force for 30 years, the last 14 in the West Bank. (Translation, Al Quds, November 23, 1982)

MITTERAND CALLS FOR PALESTINIAN STATE

On the eve of his official visit to Egypt, France's President Francois Mitterand prided himself as the "first European head of state to call for the Palestinian right to a state." Mitterand's comments were published in the semiofficial Egyptian daily *Al Ahram* November 23 and picked up by the international media as a new pro-Palestinian bend in France's Middle East policy.

Mitterand hinged the Palestinian's right to a state with recognition of Israel and described the independence of the future state. "When Palestinians get back their land," he said, "they will establish their own state and they will choose the constitutional form and institutions which are good for them."

The French president, who made a similar call for a state in a speech before the Israeli Knesset this spring, also asked that the Reagan plan be given priority over the French-Egyptian draft resolution. The resolution formulated during the heat of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, called for a vague recognition of Palestinian rights. Mitterand called the Fez resolutions "a good basis for the beginning of negotiations — although we don't agree to all its points." Egypt was not present at the Fez Arab summit.

Mitterand also pledged that France would continue in all spheres of its relations with Egypt, including military aid.

HABIB GETS NOWHERE IN NEW SHUTTLE

US special envoy to the Middle East Philip Habib arrived in Israel November 24 for talks with top Israeli officials. He is also expected to meet some West Bank pro-Jordanian figures to discuss with them Reagan's Middle East initiative. He arrived shortly after failing to get Syrian agreement to withdraw from Lebanon. Announcements that Damascus said that the government there did not think Habib could get Israel out of Lebanon.

Habib, who is on a special shuttle trip between a number of Middle Eastern capitals has been delegated wider responsibilities to discuss among other issues the "prospects of Peace" on the basis of Reagan's September 1 initiative. His main mission, however, centers arround speeding up the process of securing a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, US reports say. The envoy's arrival in Lebanon coincided with increased concern among Lebanese ruling circles that Israel will make further preconditions for its withdrawal from Lebanon. The new conditions, the Phalangist-run Voice of Lebanon radio station reported, include allowing Israel to keep a military base on the Baruk mountains, the highest mountian range in Lebanon. Israel also demanded that it be allowed to send naval and air patrols into Lebanese waters and air space.

During his stay in Beirut, Habib held talks with Lebanese President Amin Gemayel who was reported to have rejected the new Israeli conditions. The US envoy, however, did not make any comment to the press on his talks.

Before he departed on his second stop to Damascus, Habib spoke to other Lebanese leaders about the recent fighting between PPS (Progressive Socialist Party) militias and the Phalangists in the Shouf mountains. His meetings were fruitless, according to Lebanese reports.

On November 23, Habib arrived in Damascus and held talks with Foreign Minister Abd al-Halim Khaddam. The authoritative *Tishrin* daily reported, November 24, that Habib presented Khaddam with a plan for a partial and mutual withdrawal by both Syria and Israel. The paper added that the Syrian foreign minister had rejected the proposals. Earlier, Syrian Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad told reporters that Syria does not intend to pull out its troops from Lebanon before Israel does.

Israel Radio reported, November 24, that Habib is scheduled to meet, on the same day, with Israel's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. He will also meet Prime Minister Menachem Begin on November 25. (Translation: local press and Israel Radio)

ISRAELI SOLDIER AMBUSHED, KILLED

One Israeli soldier was killed, and the commander of the IDF Assistance Unit for the Civilian Population (Israel's title for its military governorate in Lebanon), Lieutenant Colonel Zvi Vardi, as well as another soldier were injured, when their jeep came under fire in Sidon, November 19. A Lebanese group called the Lebanese National Resistance Front claimed responsibility for the attack.

The incident took place less than one kilometer away from the Israeli military headquarters in Sidon. News reports said that the jeep came under fire from unidentified people who overtook the jeep in a white car. The assailants escaped before Israeli army reinforcements arrived.

Immediately afterwards, the city was placed under curfew, and dozens of suspects were rounded up. The Israeli officer and his companion were taken to Israeli hospitals for treatment. (Translation, Jerusalem Post, November 21, local papers November 20)

SOLDIERS BREAK-INTO DHEISHEH HOME, BURN ALL BOOKS AND PAPERS

The family of Ibrahim Yousef Abed of Dheisheh refugee camp stated that Israeli soldiers broke into their house during the week-long curfew of the camp in early November and burnt all their books and papers.

Khadijeh Abad, wife of Ibrahim who died recently, presented to journalists copies of the Bible and the Quran which she had pulled out of the fire. Also among the papers burnt were her children's birth certificates, school certificates and land deeds *(tabu)* of the deceased for property in the village of Zakariah.

The soldiers destroyed the sewage pipes around the home and harassed the deceased's wife because her husband was a leader in the camp. The caravan of cars which participated in his funeral procession extended more than a kilometer. (Translated from Al Talia, November 11, 1982)

HEADS MAY ROLL OVER MASSACRE RESPONSIBILITY

Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon (lower left) at commission of inquiry. He may have to testify again.

The three-person Israeli commission of inquiry into the mid-September massacres at Sabra and Shatila camps issued warnings, November 25, to nine senior political and military figures likely to be "harmed" by its findings. The commission gave the nine, who include Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan, the head of Mossad and several senior aides, the opportunity to appear once more before the commission to give further evidence, to cross examine witnesses or to take legal counsel.

Special messengers delivered official notification of the warnings to the nine affected. The warning is necessary under an amendment to Israel's commission of inquiry laws which allow those who may be "harmed" to have the opportunity to cross-examine those who give evidence which contradicts their own. The announcement of the commission has caused speculation both about possible prosecution of some of the figures and about the political futures of others.

According to reports in the Israeli press Begin's initial response to the warning was to ignore it. Local reports said that Begin would not appoint a lawyer or reappear before the commission. There is also speculation in Israeli political circles that if the commission's final report contains thing which casts doubt on Begin's role in the affair that he will call for early elections.

The resolution of the commission lists a series of areas where the figure could be "harmed." In most cases the implication of the commission seems to be that the politicians seem to have been guilty of misjudgement or omission rather than being directly implicated in the massacre or covering it up. The junior officials, the document says, could be harmed if the commission finds that they were less than conscientious in passing messages and information to their seniors. Legal experts are doubtful that prosecutions will result from the latest development.

In response Nevo said that he was celebrating the New Year that evening between the hours of 5:30 pm and 12:00 mid night. He said that he first learned about the atrocities on Saturday afternoon.

Like other government officials, Nevo testified that he first learned about the Phalangist participation in occupying west Beirut after a cabinet meeting September 16.

Mordechai Zipori, the minister of communication, emerged as a major critic of the government's policy during the war when he gave his testimony. He said that the cabinet decision of June 15 to allow Sharon leeway in making decisions about the execution of the war was not a basis for giving the Phalangists permission to enter the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. His allegation contradicts the testimonies of both Begin and Sharon, who cited that cabinet decision as the basis for orders to enter Beirut.

Zipori said he had first learned about the massacre Friday, September 17, from *Haaretz* military correspondent Zev Shiff. He said that he had been unable to locate the director of military intelligence and the head of the general security services to notify them of the massacre because they were out of town. He said he then phoned Yitzhak Shamir, the foreign minister, and told him that he had had reports that Phalangists were carrying out a slaughter and demanded he check them. According to Zipori, Shamir answered, "I heard you."

The next time Zipori heard about the massacre was on Saturday evening, September 18 during the emergency cabinet meeting, he said. Asked if at the cabinet meeting of September 16 there was any apprehension as to what would happen it they allowed the Phalange operation to continue, Zipori said that he preferred to explain in a closed session.

In his evidence, November 24, Shamir denied that he had been told about the massacre. He said that Zipori had told him that the Phalangists were "running wild" but did not use the words "slaughter" or "massacre." Shamir asserted that he had asked an aide if there was any informaton from Beirut but "co\uldn't remember" which aide.

Meanwhile, the commission has finished taking initial testimony, having heard from 242 witnesses. There has been no announcement of possible further witnesses, but there is speculation that they may recall some witnesses and that some of those who have already given testimony may avail themselves of the opportunity to reappear. The commission is due to present a report at the end of this year or early next year.

Earlier in the week an Israeli soldier, the prime minister's aide-de-camp and Mordechai Zipori, Israel's minister of communication, appeared before the inquiry commission. Sergeant Benny Haim, whose dogtag and military ID card was found inside Shatila refugee camp after the massacre claimed that he had not been anywhere near the camp at that time, November 23. Haim was not able to explain how his dogtag and ID card reached the camp. He said that when the Israeli army entered west Beirut, September 15, his regiment assembled at the Beirut airport. He said he was seriously wounded in an early stage of the fighting and then transferred to a field hospital. His dogtag and ID card were in one of the pouches of his harness which was cut off in the hospital, he said.

Earlier Franklin Lamb, an American expert in international law, had told the commission that a survivor of the massacre had found the dogtag and the ID card in the ruins of his house and had given them to a Danish reporter. How they got there still remains a mystery.

Another of the contradictions that have plagued the investigation was revealed during the evidence of Lieutenant Colonel Azriel Nevo, the prime ministers' aide-de-camp. Nevo denied having spoken to Hanan Bar-On, assistant director-general of the foreign ministry, about rumours circulating regarding Phalangist activities in the Palestinian camps.

The three-man panel heard that US special envoy Morris Draper had personally transmitted a message through Nevo to the Minister of Defence notifying him about the "obscenity of the massacre." Bar-On said in his testimony, last week, that he phoned Nevo "sometime Friday evening" about his conversation with an American diplomat also had heard about the "rumours" of the Phalangists' entry into the Palestinian camp.

Zipori said he had asked Shamir to check with intelligence chiefs about the massacre reports because he knew they would be meeting him and Morris Draper in Jerusalem. Shamir said he didn't. "I did not assume that Minister Zipori knew more of what was happening in Beirut than the defence minister, the director of military intelligence, the director of the general security services and than Draper and his aides. . ." Shamir said it was only on Saturday morning that he got the first indications of what was happenning.

He denied receiving reports on Friday from the US Embassy and Foreign Ministry officials in Jerusalem. Zipori, unlike Shamir, did not receive a message from the commission warning him he may be "harmed" be their report.

ISRAEL REWORDS ANTI-PLO DOCUMENT

In a surprise announcement to the press, November 22, Colonel Yigal Karmon, 'civil administrator' of the West Bank, said that the anti-PLO pledge, a prerequisite for issuance of work permits for foreign faculty at the West Bank's four universities, was being withdrawn. Later it transpired that although a separate paper is now no longer in force the essence of he declaration is to be incorporated into a new work permit application. . . . . .

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The contentious paragraph in the new statement reads: "During the time of the work permit the receiver of the permit will avoid any action which can damage or hurt security or public order, and abide by all judicial and security laws which prohibit any activities and services which help or support the PLO or any other hostile organisation.". . . . . .

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"There was no official response from any of the universities, although Bir Zeit University put out a statement stressing that they had not received any official notification.

"Dr. Leighton Pratt, an Irishman who is associate professor of English at Bir Zeit, said during a radio interview yesterday that at face value no real change was apparent if the text of the original pledge was incorporated into the work permit application. "This is no change and I can see no change in our position."

"A similar attitude was taken by lecturers and officials at Al Najah University." (Translation: Jerusalem Post, November 23. 1982)

After the November 24 meeting between Karmon and the heads of the universities' boards of trustees and presidents, sources close to the universities were saying that the change may satisfy most academics. There were no formal announcements after the meeting as administrators went off to discuss latest developments with their staff. Karmon gave the universities until December 1 to make a decision on the revised document. It is understood from academic sources that students, who were adamantly opposed to the earlier wording have softened their opposition somewhat and may support acceptance of the changes.

The change in policy *vis-a-vis* the anti-PLO oath came after increased pressure on Israel from the US government. Later last week the oath was condemned in a formal statement read to a press conference by spokesman Alan Romberg. On November 18, Secretary of State George Shultz added his voice to the growing protest when he called on Israeli academics to criticise the move to their governments. Shultz said that "as a university man" he considered the oath a problem concerning "freedom of thought." "I think we should speak out unequivocally about it," the secretary continued.

Earier Israel had formally protested Romberg's statement, complaining that "all countries" of the world make "foreign residents sign political documents." Later, however, spokesman John Hughes presented the press with a further statement noting that Israel may have a legal case, but reiterating US concern about the document's implications as regards freedom in the occupied territories. . . . . .

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Lost Game

Israel introduces a new document against freedom of ..... and further suppresses the residents and visitors of the occupied territories. The latter complain, reject and mobilize world opinion for support. Meanwhile the new document is quickly put into practice and people are injured. This process continues for a few months. As soon as the world starts condemning the action, especially when close friends lead the pack, Israel announces its intention to withdraw the document.

All of a sudden, the condemners of yesterday become praisers. They go back to their original standpoint of "understanding and support to the most democratic country in the Middle East." While the suppressed wait for a new text, the old text continues in force. The decision that has been by that time, already taken continues to function. Some time later, the new text does appear and concerned people begin to carefully study it.

And reality surfaces again. There is no change in the spirit of the old text. The change was only words. Perhaps it is now much better written – legally. Now everyone is back at square one and the fight begins again. Universities of the occupied territories have been spinning in this legal-administrative cobweb for the past three months at least. The only slight opening in the web came after they relinquished silent negotiation and hope and made a bold public statement of their principled stand against interference with academic freedom.

Now with a second change in a text which must be rejected at its first word, has the situtation changed one iota? Or does Israel simply hope to make everyone dizzy with its legal maneuverings?

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Findley Defeated in US Elections:

ARAB LOBBY LOSES OLD FRIEND

by Ghassan Bishara

With friends of the Arabs so hard to come by in the US Congress, to lose one is a serious setback. Congressman Paul Findley's defeat in the mid-term elections leaves only two or three who dareopenly state their friendship to the Arabs and the Palestinians.

It is no secret that in the US even more than in other places, money makes a difference as to who gets elected to important positions. Considering that the most readily available commodity Arabs have is money, the loss of their few elected friends says a lot about their organisation, determination and their effective use of their resources. From Senator William Fulbright to Republican Paul McCloskey of California, to Paul Findley of Illinois, Arab friends are in the retreat in the US.

Financial contributions by American citizens to elected officials is legal. So is lobbying. Arabs and Arab Americans, maybe due to the governmental systems in the Arab world, do not practice the latter and ignore the-former. Paul Findley, a Republican member of the house since 1960, lost his seat to a 37-year-old Democrat by a 1,400 margin and a 200,000-plus poll, November 2. Findley, 61, the ranking member of his party on the House sub-committee on the Middle East, has met PLO chairman Yassir Arafat twice. Israel's lobby has targetted him before and called him a dangerous man and a friend of "terrorism." When Al Fajr contacted his office for a post-defeat interview, we were informed that he was unfortunately unavailable but he asked that his long-time press advisor answer our questions in his stead.

Q. What brought about Paul Findley's defeat?

A. I think it could be divided into two portions; one would be domestic issues and the other financial issues. The domestic issues would be of course the effect of unemployment, the high interest rates, the sluggish economy in general that we have experienced throughout central Illinois. And that would include things brought on by the pipe-line sanctions that President Reagan recently lifted, and then you know, the effect of so-called Reaganomics on the unemployment situation of central Illinois.

The financial issue, which is the other underlying issue, but also a very prominent factor in this campaign was that our opponent was heavily financed by Jewish Americans from outside the district who are sympathetic to the Begin government and felt that Congressman Findley was a threat to Israel. And without that substantial financing our opponent would not have been able to wage a credible campaign.

Q: Concerning his position on the Middle East, you are saying that the financial contribution of the pro-Israeli lobby was a major factor?

A. Yes, I believe that to be one of the major factors in the campaign. It was certainly not a major issue, so to speak. It was one of those underlying things, that if our opponent did not have the financial backing, he would not have been able to get a credible campaign going to defeat us.

Q. As for American Jewish contributions to Mr. Durbin, the Congressman's opponent, did Mr. Findley receive any financial help from Arab Americans?

A. Yes, the Arab American Congress helped Congressman Findley very well. He was very pleased with the help he got from them. However, in comparison, the Arab American interests that contributed to the Findley campaign was somewhat less than 10 percent of the total campaign receipts. On the other hand, our opponent's contributions from the Jewish American constituency were something of the order of 90 percent of his campaign contributions. So, we're talking about, I would imagine, the US $ 650,000 range, we're talking about a substantial portion of the money coming from Jewish Americans outside the district.

Q. Does Mr. Findley blame the minute Arab contributions, Arab American disorganisation, and non-politicisation relative to the American Jewish organisations? This is important, for future American officials may read Findley's defeat as being based on such Arab American shortcomings.

A. Your question is kind of two-fold there. I would say that in comparison to the Jewish lobby, the Arab American lobby has a long way to go, and that is not saying anything disrespectful. I think that the American Jewish lobby is very ingrained, and organised, but on the other hand I feel that Congressman Findley got good support from the Arab Americans, and perhaps they were better organised and better-defined this time than in 1980, when he faced much the same type of opposition. As far as deterring or helping his personal stance on the Middle East, I don't think anything would ever change his mind about the even-handed approach needed to being about a peaceful settlement to the Middle East question. I think he is strongly committed to that, and rightly so.

Q. What makes an elected official in this country such as Mr. Findley take the position he did considering the strength of the Jewish lobby?

A. Congressman Findley, as long as I've known him, has always been motivated by honour, integrity and justice. And I believe that if you look at the Middle East question and what has been happening there you will see that for a great number of years there hasn't been any justice over there. I think that it goes back even further than that for Congressman Findley. He represents the district of Abraham Lincoln (US president during the civil war), and in doing so he has patterned much of his activity after that of Lincoln. Lincoln was one who saw human rights issues, he saw that there was a need for even-handedness and fairness in dealing with humanity, and I think that Congressman Findley through the years has tried to develop himself in much the same manner, you know, because he truly believes in that.

Q. Has Congressman Findley received letters from friends of Israel rejoicing his loss?

A. Yes, and many calls the day after the election, asking who won, and saying well, "we're glad." We also got letters to the office from time to time in the last two weeks, saying," You finally got what you deserved. You don't know how happy this makes me." It is not unexpected, but it's a dishonourable and disrespectful way for people to conduct themselves.

Q. What lessons, if any, are you learning here from Congressman Findley's defeat?

A. Certainly in my opinion there is a political lesson to be learned here. However, if you're elected to the United States Congress, you are thrown into a special circle, where you must represent the even-handedness and the best interests of the American foreign as well as domestic policy. I would encourage any Congressman that supported his position to continue to do so, or who is likely to support his position to go forward with it, because I believe that in time we are going to see a vindication of his position.

Certainly we cannot afford to lose Israel as an ally. And certainly we cannot afford to have total anti-Israeli positions taken in our foreign policy channels. What we are saying, though is that we need some even-handedness, some fair play, and a homeland, a basis from which to work for peace in the Middle East, and that this has to come about, it's inevitable, and the sooner the better.

To Set Fire In The West Bank

by Amnon Rubinstein

This was inevitable: increasing the settlements of *Kach* (the extreme right-wing movement headed by Meir Kahane) people in the West Bank is a logical result of (Israeli Defence Minister Arlel) Sharon's policy in the occupied territories. This policy aims at setting the West Bank alight — to prevent any calmness, to block any arrangement and to step up violence and hatred. What could be more natural than for the defence minister to plant, in the heart of an Arab community, a nucleus of settlers from a violent movement whose heads planned to blow up the holy places of Islam in *Har Habayet* (al-Aqsa)? What is more natural for Sharon than to bring in the middle of an Arab community a movement which supports the expulsion of Arabs from *Eretz Israel* and whose heads publish anti-Arab leaflets?"

The policy of settlement adopted by the Likud government is aimed at annexing the West Bank to Israel, without giving any rights to its population. This object has almost been achieved, and the loss which this policy will bring on Israel will only be known in the future. But Sharon is not satisfied with this: he wants to burn the West Bank, to maintain constant friction between its population and Israel, to create incidents which cause responses in which the settlers are experienced.

It should be pointed out that when the defense minister took office he talked about the need for improving the relations with the Arabs of the occupied territories, to remove roadblocks and not to harm their feelings!

* * * * *

In the middle of March of this year, six (army) officers, members of "Peace Now" movement, came with a complaint against the behavior of soldiers towards the Arabs. At that time a punishment campaign was conducted in the West Bank, which ended with an unprecedented result: in this campaign more unarmed Arabs were killed than in any other previous period from the Six Day (June 1967) war until the steering of defence was transferred to the hands of Sharon.

Those officers told stories about cruel treatment of Arabs, about illegal actions (and said) that we are losing in these police actions in the West Bank a "human image." How did the defense minister respond to this? His spokesman announced: the accusations which were raised are groundless and their purpose is to reap political gains at the expense of the Israeli soldiers and the population in the West Bank and Gaza.

Thus! Not less and not more! All of this is lies and whoever warns against cruel treatment of Arabs in the occupied territories are themselves using Arabs. It's doubtful any minister has ever issued such a falsified, distorted and lying statement as Sharon.

Now, it has also become clear to the public at large what was already known to some of us: namely that the claims of the officers were baseless if we use mild language. Recently seven soldiers and an officer were put on trial on charges of brutal, sadistic and terrible treatment of Arabs in the West Bank. The conscience, in fact, can hardly believe that Israeli soldiers are suspected of doing these things, which we, as Jews, remember were done against us.

It is a consolation that at least the military prosecution system operated correctly and put the suspects on trial. But besides this feeling of self-satisfaction there is the fear that only the special courage of a number of reserve officers pushed the wheels of justice, and without them none of the security machinery was qualified to prevent the brutal actions or to put the suspects on trial.

And the most dangerous thing is that it is not talked about here as something exceptional; in keeping 'law and order,' that Arab workers, who work in Israel, and build our houses, and make their way morning and evening quietly from their homes to workplaces and back, are subjected to beatings, brutal treatment and cruelty. Under the rule of Sharon the face of Israel has become deformed. Until a short time ago, it was considered exceptional, but today this has become the routine and commonplace thing.

* * * * *

Bringing the seven soldiers to court on charges of maltreatment affirms something else: at a time when there is a military prosecution system which operates according to circumstantial matter-of-fact considerations, there is neither judicial system nor judgement for extremist settlers. Last March a number of Arabs — young men and women — were killed as a result of firing by the settlers. An incident of this kind, when a settler fired on an Arab gathering, was not even shown on TV. In another incident, in Kiryat Arba, the police started to investigate a murder suspect, but threats by the settlers stopped the investigation. The police officers who looked into these matters received threats and open condemnation. Sharon responded by attempting to take the police out of the investigation process and to transfer it to the hands of the military police.

In the meanwhile, the issue was left. But one understands that the suspects were not brought to the court. And all this teaches one that in the West Bank, there is not only a separate judicial system for Jews and Arabs, but also a separate judgement for two kinds of Jews: soldiers and settlers. (Translation: Haaretz, November 11, 1982)

Arabs in Israel Are Time Bomb

The latest issue of *Hamahane* published an interview with Professor Amon Sufer, an Israeli orientalist, on the future of the "Arab minority who live in Israel." The interview, which was summarized by other Israeli dailes newspapers, *Yediot Ahronot*, and *Davar*, — 18, 11, 1982), is merely an incitement and a reflection of hatred against those Palestinians who remained in their homeland after 1948.

"Natural increase, plus land, plus education, plus complications finally bring about a time bomb," said Safer referring to the Palestinians in Israel.

He warned that if the facts are not seriously addressed Israel will get into a dangerous predicament with which it will not be possible cope in the future. "With the Arab world," Sufer claims, "we can cope. But our problem is here, in the Arab sector."

He presents the following data: "The Arabs of Israel have the highest rate of natural increase in the world. The birth rate is 5.4 percent compared with 2 percent in Egypt and 2.5 percent in China. The rate of the natural population growth among the Jews in Israel is 1.5 percent. The mortality rate in Israel is seven per 1000 for Jews compared with four per 1000 for Arabs. About two-thirds of the Arab population are children and young people."

Another characteristic, remarks Sufer, is the extensive deployment of the Arab population over large geographical areas: "Whoever travels from Migdal Ha'emek and goes through the Yafea township which is part of lower Nazareth, continues on the Reani road to Kufur Kanna, will discover that there is one large town full of villas and industry and garages. This is not an Arab village, it is a metropolitan Arab city of 100,000 Arabs residents.

Palestinian Arab family in Kufr Qassem

"A similar situation is prevalent in the Naqab and the south: between Arad and Beer Sheba there are about 50,000 Beduin who hold an area about half the size of the Galilee. Apart from this, there are today Arab "ghettoes" in about 100 Jewish settlements including Safad, Eilat, Rishon Le Zion, Petah Tikva and Ya'ara.

Professor Sufer predicts that towards the end of this century there will be Arabs in every Jewish settlement and towns, excluding the kibbutzim.

A Social Revolution

Professor Sufer also claims that the Arab sector has undergone a major and widespread social revolution. He explained, "The majority of the Arabs of Israel are no longer farmers as they were in the past. The percentage of the Israeli Arabs who are employed today in agriculture is not more than 15 percent — almost the same as in the Jewish community. In the country an urban Arab proletariat is developing. The majority of the Arab population who were not educated became integrated with the Jewish service sector and they transformed this sector so that it is tied to them. Maybe those who have humanities qualifications, who completed their studies in higher education institutions, do not find employment which suits their skills and education. This is because of problems of language or because of security restrictions. All this creates a feeling of frustration and oppression. When the Israeli Arab achieves social and economic progress he does not feel indebted to the state for this."

Thirsty for Education

Sufer claims that the high percentage of the educated Arabs which grew rapidly after 1948 "when only farmers and villagers remained, while most of the Arabs who fled were educated," is due to Israel's concern.

"But today, almost all those who are eligible for compulsory education are receiving education. About 30 percent of all people of that age group completed nine to 12 years of education and about two percent of the whole Arab population study today in higher institutions."

He adds that, "in Israel, a class of educated Arabs is growing, which in the next generation will be equal to the level of the Jewish populaton. Also the standard of the teachers in the Arab schools is actually higher than that of the Jewish sector. Many educated Arabs including holders of PhDs turn to teaching jobs because of the lack of possibility of absorption in the general labour market. This is at a time when Jewish schools employ women teachers who hold only seminar degrees."

In the light of this, Sufer warns that "when a population lives in a territory in which it has an absolute majority, demands of separation are raised, and there are pressures for autonomy and independence. He brings up examples: Ireland, Cyprus, Yugoslavia and Iran. (Translation: Yediot Ahronot, November 18, 1982)

WEEKLY REVIEW

Ain Sultan refugee camp in Jericho is under serious threat of destruction by the Israeli authorities. *The Jerusalem Post* carried a story that the camp, which presently houses 110 families, was to be bulldozed in a night operation but that "the plan was postponed following the Sabra and Shatila massacres." Ain Sultan was set up after the 1948 war and is one of the largest camps in the West Bank. Most of the 20,000 refugees who lived in it fled again across the Jordan River in 1967.

November 17, 1982

HABIB COMING HERE TOO

WASHINGTON — Radio Monte Carlo said that US Special Envoy Philip Habib is expected to meet several West Bank mayors during his forthcoming tour in order to discuss with them US President Reagan's initiative for "peace" in the region.

TEACHERS BACK

RAMALLAH — Colonel Mizyed Abbas, 'civil administrator' of the Ramallah area, decided to reopen the Women's Teacher Training Center in the town after it was closed following November 2 demonstrations that broke out to mark the day of the Balfour Declaration.

SOLIDARITY

JERUSALEM — Serope Manukian, chief patriarch of the Armenian Orthodox in France and West Europe, arrived yesterday in Jerusalem to express support for Karekian Kazanjian, the chief patriarch of the Armenian community in Jerusalem who is threatened with deportation by the Israeli authorities.

RACIST HEADCOUNT

JERUSALEM — MK Gad Yacobi, from Labour, disclosed that the Jews living in the Galilee do not form more than 40 percent of the whole population and he warned that such a figure might have serious consequences. Yacobi called for increasing the number of Jews living in the Galilee with one hundred thousand more settlers by the year 2000. The Knesset was debating the issue of developing and settling the Galilee.

NEW PRESIDENT

GAZA — Dr. Mohammad Ahmad Saqer arrived in Gaza and started his new job as president of the Islamic University.

DANCING ALONE

GAZA — The judges of the supreme council, central court and the civil courts in Gaza received invitations from the police department asking them to attend a party to mark the feast of police day. Mayors, heads of village councils, lawyers and nearly 50 personalities were invited but none of those who received the invitations went to the party. On the day of the party the deputy-military governor of Gaza Strip brought them by force to the military government headquarters and warned them that they should attend such occasions in future.

November 18, 1982

BODY COUNT

BEIRUT — The Lebanese newspaper, *L'Orient le Jour*, reported that 991 Palestinians are considered missing as a result of the Sabra and Shatila massacres. The missing people disappeared without leaving any trace. It is also reported that the Lebanese military prosecutor is going to interrogate seven people who are believed to have participated in the massacres.

KARMON'S DISMISSAL DEMANDED

TEL AVIV — Israeli Knesset member, Victor Shemtov, demanded Defence Minister Ariel Sharon dismiss Yigal Karmon, the Israeli 'civil administrator' of the West Bank. Shemtov said that it was clear that orders given by Karmon with regards to the West Bank are made randomly and without any prior consultations with the ministry of defence.

WHEREVER NEXT

The Israeli newspaper, *Al Hamishmar*, reported that activists involved in the 'Stop the Withdrawal from Sinai' movement are now preparing a settlement plan for Sinai. *Al Hamishmar* added that many agricultural machines are hidden inside the Israeli borders in order to transfer them to Sinai in the event of successful attempts by the settlers to settle there.

FANTASY WORLD?

TEL AVIV — The Israeli press reported that the local council of the Ma'ale Adomim settlement is discussing a new plan for the establishment of an urban centre settlement for cinema production. Within this centre there will be studios and production buildings.

November 19, 1982

ISRAELI AMBUSHED

TEL AVIV — The Israeli military spokesman announced the death of one soldier and the injury of two others in an attack on an Israeli military vehicle in Sidon. He said that shots were fired from a taxi as it passed a military vehicle. Israeli forces started an intensive search of the area. A curfew was imposed on Sidon and tens of Palestinains and Lebanese were arrested. Reuter reported that the attack took place 800 meters east of the military headquarters in Sidon.

AIRPORT SHUTDOWN

TEL AVIV — Work at Israeli airports stopped from 5:00 pm Friday to 5:00 pm Saturday, cancelling 27 flights from and to Israel. The shutdown was caused by a strike of airport workers to demand wage increases and a new work contract.

ROAD OPENING

The residents of Marahel Hattab, Qantour and Khalet al Adas in the Samou'-Hebron area, opened a four kilometer long road with their own finances. The project cost residents IS90,000.

November 20, 1982

A SHOW OF UNITY

RAMALLAH — A mass meeting was held in the house of Bashir Barghouti, editor-in-chief of *Al Talia* weekly, as a show of national unity. Representatives of municipalities, national institutions and personalities participated in the meeting.

The participants condemned strongly the recent act of aggression against Barghouti.

SELF-DESTRUCTION ORDERED

JERUSALEM — Israeli authorities informed Isam Barbaz from Jerusalem, that he has to demolish two rooms of his house in Kalandia refugee camp although his case before the court, has not been decided, Isam was put on trial last year, fined and told to apply for an extra building license.

November 21, 1982

JENIN MOLOTOV

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said that unidentified people in Jenin threw an incendiary bottle at an Israeli fuel tank. The radio added that no one was injured in the incident. Israeli forces combed the area looking for the perpetrators.

DEPORTATION HALTED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* against the Israeli military authorities, banning the deportation of Wajeeh Khalaf Mohammed Mustafa, 56, his wife and his four children. All are from Deir Ballout village. Mohammad left to Venezuela in 1968 to work, married and had four children. Recently he returned to his village and applied for an identity card but his application was rejected by the authorities.

Four months ago he was ordered by the military authorities to leave the country but he refused. On the first of September, he was arrested and a month later his wife was also detained. He applied to the High Court through lawyer Felicia Langer for an interim injunction preventing his deportation before the final hearing of his case.

SURPRISE

JERUSALEM — Two Israeli journalists from *Yediot Ahronot* visited the office of *Al Fajr* (Arabic) and were surprised at the treatment the paper receives from Israeli censorship. The two journalists expressed surprise on how *Al Fajr* appears on a daily basis despite all the material censored.

AMBUSH

HEBRON — A taxi heading to Holon with Arab citizens from Hebron was stopped, by three masked men armed with rifles, at the Beit Jibril-Hebron crossroad.

BAG BOMB

TEL AVIV — An Israeli woman soldier was injured when a bomb blasted near the railway station north of Tel Aviv. Israeli Radio said the device was placed in a plastic bag. Israeli police arrested 21 Arabs.

ISRAELI ACADEMICS

More than 200 Israeli students and intellectuals signed a petition calling on the Israeli government to cancel the anti-PLO pledge document and to defend freedom of thought and expression. The petition will be distributed in Israel within a few days.

November 22, 1982

NO TEACHING

GAZA — The Israeli authorities sent orders of deportation to nine lecturers at the Islamic University in Gaza because their visas have become "invalid."

CURFEW IN ASKAR

TEL AVIV — The Israeli army imposed a curfew on Askar

Jenin's bus station, once a well-organised transportation centre, was dug up upon orders of Shihab Sanori, who was appointed "mayor" of Jenin after the dissolution of the town's elected municipality last July

refugee camp and on the vegetable market in Nablus after two settlers from Elon Moreh were attacked with knives by unidentified people.

November 23, 1982

ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY GETS NEW HEAD

Members of the Islamic University Board of Trustees, and the Gaza University Council met and appointed Muhammad Ahmad Saqr, chairman of the Gaza University. Dr. Riyad al-Agha who was the acting president of Gaza University, attended the meeting. During the meeting Dr. Saqr thanked Agha, the University Council and the Board of Trustees for their efforts to develop the university.

MARTYR MOURNED

Students in Yatta, near Hebron, marched through the streets to commemorate the martyrdom of Ahmad Jibril Al Sarii', who was killed in Lebanon a few days ago. After the march, the students arranged a wake during which speeches praising the martyr were made. Israeli soldiers did not interfere to stop the march or the festival.

POLITICAL FIRING

The liaison officer of the civil administration in the West Bank ordered Dr. Adnan Salah, the director of the education department in Hebron to fire Yousif Muhammad Sawalha, a teacher in Sa'ir secondary school. Sawalha teaches mathematics. The order firing Sawalha was back-dated to November 22.

Sawalha is a graduate of Bir Zeit University. He was appointed as a teacher from the beginning of the scholastic year of 1981-82.

EGYPT EXTRADITES FIVE PALESTINIANS TO ISRAEL

It was reported today that the Egyptian authorities extradited five Palestinian students to Israel at the beginning of November. The students were arrested after the assassination of the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in October 1981. The students were accused of having relations with an Islamic organization, *Takfir Wa Hijra*, which plotted the assasination of Sadat. The students, seniors in colleges of medicine and science, were handed over to Israeli authorities at Rafah.

Egyptian soldier, Rafah border

GALILEE, TRIANGLE AND...

Jaffa's Hassan Bek Mosque

Court Gives Temporary Decision Against Leasing

The Israeli central court in Tel Aviv issued an order *nisi* November 18, forbidding contractor Gershon Peres and the Edgar Construction Company from being compensated by the Israeli finance ministry and the Tel Aviv municipality following the cancellation of its lease on the Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa.

The petition for the order *nisi* was presented by the Jaffa *waqf* (Islamic trustees) committee on the grounds that the lease was illegal. Israeli law forbids the selling or leasing of mosques.

The order *nisi* is valid for two weeks during which the court is expected to reconvene, and give a final verdict on the legality of the lease.

Two former *waqf* committee members leased the mosque in 1972 to Edgar Construction Company. The deal was kept secret until it was leaked to the Israeli press in 1981. Abed Kaboub, present head of the *waqf* committee, told *Al Fajr* that therefore no compensation should be paid.

In a related story, the head of the *waqf* committee told *Al Fajr* that Tel Aviv municipality continues to delay the renovation work on the mosque.

Work was due to start May 1982, but the municipality continues to put off the issue, Kaboub explained. The municipality sent incomplete contracts to the *waqf* committee engineers in September, he said, and ever since they have been delaying meetings with the committee to discuss the terms of the contracts. Meanwhile, Palestinian residents of Jaffa continue to attend the mosque for Friday prayers.

The controveny over Hassan Bek started when Gershon Peres, brother of Labour Party Leader Shimon, applied to turn it into a cafe and business complex. The plan was shelved after country-wide protests by Muslims and civil rights activists.

DRUSE INITIATIVE COMMITTEE ISSUES ANTI-WAR LEAFLET

The Druse Initiative Committee issued a leaflet following the death of 10 Druse soldiers in the explosion at the Israeli military headquarters in Tyre which called on the whole Druse community to join the movement against the war and to step up opposition to the draft.

The leaflet stated, "Let our grief over those who were lost, and our pain for the orphans, widows and bereaved be transformed into action to end this war and cancel draft on the sons of the Druse community. We have suffered a great deal because of compulsory service. We do not have any interest in pursuing the policy of war and occupation. It is the policy of the government which is responsible for the bloodshed."

The leaflet added, "What is there in Lebanon for the Israeli army to do? It has destroyed villages and towns and killed tens of thousands and dispersed hundreds of thousands. Why is Israel occupying the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights? Nobody threatens the security of Israel. It is Israel which threatens the security of the area, and the safety and the future of its peoples." (Translation: Al Ittihad, November 23, 1982)

Mt. Tabour Area Police On Guard Against Palestinian Nationalism

Ma'ariv reported that Merhav Haamikim police have intensified their presence and activity in the Arab villages of Tabour Mountain, north of Nazareth, after a series of nationalist activities.

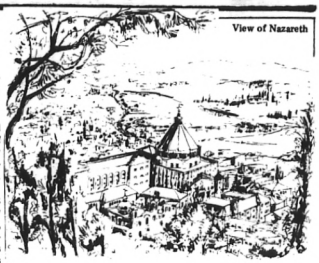
The Israeli daily noted that the villages around Tabour Mountain do not generally take an active part in Arab nationalist actions. But on the Muslim Adha feast Dabbourya village witnessed "extremist" national activities: after the feast prayer tens of the village residents marched on the house of an area resident who had recently returned from Lebanon, and attacked it with stones. The reason for the attack was that this resident was collaborating with the Israelis in Lebanon and that he led Israeli forces to Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

This resident opened fire on the demonstrators, killing a 19-year-old girl.

According to the paper there was information with the police about preparations for national actions in Dabbourya on the fortieth mourning day after the girl's death, November 5. Police were ready to begin operations and stepped up patrol work several days before. On November 4, police forces entered Dabbourya and arrested 13 residents at a cafe.

The week before, two incidents also occurred. On November 2 (Balfour Declaration Day) a stone roadblock was erected between Ain Dour kibbutz and Gazet kibbutz.

The next day, according to the paper, it was discovered that a Jewish cemetery belonging to Kfar Kish had been damaged. (Translated from Maariv, November 7, 1982)



View of Nazareth

Arab Councils Consider Collective Resignation

The Regional Committee of Arab Councils in Israel will discuss the proposal of the head of the committee and Mayor of Shafa 'Amr Ibrahim Nimr which calls on all the heads of the Arab councils and their members to resign and give the keys of their town halls to the Ministry of Interior if their fiscal crisis is not solved.

In an interview with reporters on November 22 in Shafa 'Amr, Nimr said that the Arab local councils have reached the verge of despair due to their financial crisis. ; He expressed regret and said he could see no sign of a solution to the deteriorating situaion.

Nimr added that in a number of secondary schools the teachers strike because they they have not been paid, and that the danger of disruption would extend to all high schools in the Arab sector. He also referred to a number of Arab local councils where services have been suspended for six months.

A Set of Measures

Nimr, who decided to call all the members of the joint committee of Arab MKs and the members of the regional committee for consultations about the situation, told reporters that in the latest committee meeting it was decided to start a set of protests: a sit-in and a demonstration opposite the Knesset, and a general strike of the Arab local councils.

In answer to a question Nimr said that if "the Israeli authorities continue to put obstacles in our way, it will be hard to withstand pressure and there will be no other option but to send the keys of the councils to the Interior Ministry and to hold it responsible for the failure."

Protest At Press Conference:

Tuition Aid Benefits Do Not Reach Arab Students

The Union of Arab Students in Israeli universities protested at a press conference November 15 in Tel Aviv what they called "oppression of Arab students," contained in recommendations of the Katzav Committee appointed by Israeli Education Minister Zevulon Hammer last year to revise Israeli university fees.

Muhammad Barake, elected chairman of the union (which is not recognized by the Israeli Institute of Higher Education) said that the recommendations laid down in the committee's report totally exclude Arab students from financial aid.

He explained that the report suggested lower fees, scholarships and financial aid only for students from large families, development towns and designated disadvantaged areas, who had served in the army. These students would pay half the university tuition fees. The fact that the vast majority of Arab students do not serve in the army makes them ineligible for this reduction, although most of them come from large families.

Another point of discrimination, according to Barake, is that since Arab villages are not technically included in the category of development areas — although they fall in these areas — Arab students would not benefit from the fee reduction.

The press conference was also attended by representatives of the left-wing CAMPUS Israeli student organisation, and Forum, a faculty group from Tel Aviv University that defends freedom of expression). They condemned "discrimination on an ethnic basis," and said that there is "a hand directed from above" to prevent Arabs from obtaining higher education.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE IV GENEVA CONVENTION IN ISRAELI-OCCUPIED SOUTH LEBANON

THE MALTREATMENT OF DETAINEES IN ISRAEL PRISON CAMPS

Excerpted from a study by James Fine

This report is the result of a trip to Israeli-occupied South Lebanon to make an inquiry into the situation of the Lebanese and Palestinian civilians of the area and the situation of the Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners detained there by Israeli forces. The concern was to gain an impression of the general welfare and safety of the people in the region, identify any problems with implications for the human rights of the population and, especially, to ascertain to what extent Israeli treatment of the general population and those under detention conformed with the standards required by the IV Geneva Convention of 1949 Concerning the Protection of Civilians in Time of War and other international agreements.

The researcher has visited Lebanon repeatedly over the last five years. On this trip, he was in Lebanon from August 7, to 21, 1982 and spent August 10-20 in the South. Most of the time was spent in Sidon, the administrative capital of the South, but visits were also made to a number of other towns and villages, including Nabatiya, Arnoun and Ansar (the latter the site of the prison camp established by the Israeli army). During this time interviews were conducted with Lebanese and Palestinian residents of the region, including municipal officials in Sidon, religious leaders, persons recently released from Israeli detention, and members of the Free Lebanese Army (Maj. Sa'ad Haddad's forces) and the Lebanese Forces (Phalangist or *Kata'ib* militia of Bashir Gemayel). The researcher also spoke with representatives of non-governmental international agencies, high-ranking officers of the Israel Defense Forces in Sidon (in charge of "IDF Unit for Assistance to the Civilian Population," as to the military government of the region is officially titled), the US ambassador to Lebanon, and other American officials during a visit they paid to Sidon in this period.

The present report deals with the period beginning with the cessation of hostilities in the Israeli-occupied zone, especially in the Sidon area.

In the sections that follow the situations of the general civilian population, of detainees, of the Lebanese government and the administration of the area are considered.

Status of Israeli-Occupation Forces

As mentioned above, the Israeli forces governing South Lebanon have been officially titled the "IDF Assistance Unit for the Civilian Population." Israeli spokesmen reject calling the IDF's control of the area a military government and state that no military orders legislating or regulating the affairs of the area have been issued. The official Israeli position is that the sole purpose of the IDF presence, now that the forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization have been expelled from the area, is to facilitate the resumption of Lebanese government control and administration.

Israel does not view itself as an occupying power in Lebanon ("belligerent occupant" in international legal terminology). Nonetheless, it has given the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva written assurance, through the Israel mission in Geneva, that in its occupation of southern Lebanon, it accepts and will adhere to the terms of the IV Geneva Convention. The Geneva Convention sets down important guidelines for the behavior of a belligerent occupant in its treatment of civilians and non-belligerents. This report examines possible violations of these rules.

The absence of a large percentage of the male Palestinian population is an important element in the climate of insecurity among the Palestinians. An observer looking around Ain el-Hilweh or visiting one of the schools where refugees have sought shelter sees a society of women, children and old men. Many families have no adult male among them. Many of the missing men are under Israeli detention, presumably at the newly-erected prison camp at Ansar in South Lebanon. Others retreated north with the PLO.

Detentions or Abductions of Lebanese and Palestinian Residents of the Area

The researcher heard many reports of residents, especially Palestinians, being detained or abducted by Haddad or Phalange militia. Some persons are said to be missing following suspected abductions. Others report being detained and sometimes beaten. One Lebanese resident reported being held for five days by Phalangist forces in a room at the Sidon school with several other prisoners.

Number of Detainees

Official Israeli estimates place the number of detainees at the Ansar detention center, which lies on the road between Nabatiya and Tyre in South Lebanon, at about 7000. This figure agrees with the count conducted by the ICRC in late July and early August. It is estimated that about 60 percent of these detainees are Palestinians. Between 30 percent and 35 percent are Lebanese. The remainder are nationals of a wide variety of countries, most of whom were either fighting or training with the PLO or serving the Palestinian civilian population in non-military capacities, for example, with the Palestine Red Crescent Society.

Israel acknowledges holding prisoners only at Ansar. Certainly until mid-July and possibly until the present, however, persons were also detained in large numbers in Israel at least during June and early July. In addition, there is evidence (as well as a logical necessity) that persons are detained and interrogated in Israeli army bases and headquarters at various locations in South Lebanon. The number of persons held in such places, of course, cannot be determined, since the places are not acknowledged or identified by the Israeli authorities.

Basis of Detention

The legal basis of Israeli detention of Palestinians, Lebanese and others is unclear. Israel, on the one hand, refuses to accord prisoner-of-war status under the III Geneva Convention to the Palestinians, and on the other, denies that it is engaged in hostilities against the Lebanese. At the same time, there is no indication that it views any of its prisoners as internees under Article 42 of the IV Geneva Convention.

On June 9, 1982, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon promulgated a special emergency regulation (No. 1182), valid without action by the Israeli Knesset for three months, authorizing Israeli army officers of brigadier-general rank or above to detain any non-Israeli citizen or non-Israeli resident, who is deemed to constitute a public danger, for a period of up to three months. Israel used this regulation as the legal basis for detaining those arrested during the Lebanon invasion. Legal experts have questioned, however, whether Israel's legal authority can properly be extended beyond Israel's borders into Lebanon, where Israel now admits holding some 7000 persons, and where more have certainly been detained, whatever their present location.

Treatment of Detainees

Treatment of detainees seems to have been most severe in the immediate aftermath of the war.

The most serious situation reported was the alleged beating deaths on June 11 of eight persons at a convent school in Sidon that was being used at the time to collect and sort prisoners. This incident was first publicized by Canadian and Norwegian doctors who witnessed the beatings. The doctors had been serving in Palestine Red Crescent Society clinics and hospitals in Sidon, and were arrested for some days by the Israeli Defense Forces. They described the beating deaths in a press conference after their release. It was possible to obtain statements corroborating the foreign doctors' accounts from Lebanese. These local witnesses have made statements to the IDF which has begun an investigation into the affair. There is strong evidence that these deaths occurred as reported by the Canadian and Norwegian doctors. (Israeli officials have reportedly contacted Lebanese physicians in the Sidon area, asking them to denounce the Canadian and Norwegian doctors publicly, as biased and partisan in favor of the PLO).

Beatings, especially of Palestinian prisoners, are commonly reported as having taken place in the first weeks after the war. Released detainees say that Israeli soldiers beat prisoners with rifle butts, tree branches and sometimes with baseball bat-like instruments at the St. Joseph Convent School in Sidon where prisoners were collected and sorted, at the Safa Citrus Corporation plant in the city, where they were held for several days to a week and at unidentified locations in Israel where they were taken and held one to three weeks before being transferred back to Ansar prison camp in Lebanon. The researcher was not told of beatings at Ansar.

Persons detained and processed at the St. Joseph Convent School in the first week of the occupation also report being held with their hands tied behind them for periods of up to 36 or 48 hours, during which time they were not permitted to relieve themselves and were therefore forced to urinate and defecate in their pants. Some persons detained in this period report being denied food and water for a day or more. Others say that they always had at least a minimally acceptable amount of bread and water available. Water was ladled out to them. The food at St. Joseph's seems to have been limited to loaves of Israeli bread, which men helped one another to eat, one holding a piece of the loaf with his tied hands behind his back and feeding the men around him.

Some released detainees also report beatings and food and water deprivation at the Safa Citrus Corporation and detention sites in Israel but the incidence of such treatment seems to decline in the second month after the beginning of the war. It must be emphasized, of course, that in mid-August it was not possible to speak with a representative sample of detainees. Those released by mid-August were probably those whom the Israelis had least reason to hold. None of them appeared to have fought against the IDF either in the ranks of the Palestinian organisations or in the Lebanese National Movement.

Men arrested in early July or later report less severe treatment. The beatings and deprivations seem to have declined or ceased. Again, most of those arrested so long after the occupation began are not likely to have been involved in any resistance to the Israeli forces.

More interviews with a more representative cross-section of those detained will be required to compile an accurate picture of the overall treatment of detainees.

Degree of Conformity to IV Geneva Conference

More important for the moment than the question of how detainees were treated in the early weeks of the war is the question of how their conditions of detention at present conform to international standards. There are serious shortcomings in regard to the way conditions of detention compare to international standards.

Absence of Identification of Pre-detention and Interrogation Centers

As already mentioned, the ICRC at present has access only to the detention center at Ansar. Within Israel, the ICRC has seen a small group of wounded Palestinians and regular Syrian army soldiers. In the past, prisoners were taken to Ansar after an average of a month in detention elsewhere. While as an average figure, this is almost certainly no longer the case, it is equally certain that persons arrested in recent weeks are first held and interrogated at places other than Ansar. This is attested to both by reports of released detainees and the facts of geography and administrative necessity which require local places of detention at least for processing. The failure of the occupation authorities to designate local pre-detention and interrogation centers and to accord the ICRC access to persons held in them probably constitute the most serious dangers to the rights of detainees at present.

Absence of Review Mechanism

The IV Geneva Convention requires that persons interned by the occupying power be accorded a review "as soon as possible" of their detention order by an administrative board or court. The special emergency regulations issued by the Israeli minister of defense also make provision for a three-member review board to review detention orders. However, at present, there seems to be no way for a detainee to exercise this right of review or appeal. Israeli officers have not, so far as the researcher could learn, informed detainees of their right to review. According to a lawyer member of the Israeli Civil Rights Committee, in the first two months no appeals had been brought and the detainees seemed not to have been advised of their right to appeal. ICRC delegates have, since late July, been apprising detainees of this right in the course of the individual interview that they are conducting, without witnesses. There is, however, no way for detainees to initiate this review, or to submit material in support of a request for release.

Absence of Family Visits

Detainees are also entitled to family visits at "regular intervals" and "as frequently as possible" under the IV Geneva Convention. To date there is no way for families to visit their detained relatives (although detainees are able to send and receive short family messages and other communications, via the ICRC.)

Absence of Parcels

Detainees are also entitled by international standards to receive individual parcels and collective shipments of food, clothing, books and recreational equipment. To date, requests by aid agencies to provide collective shipments have not been granted, but they are under consideration. There have probably been few, if any, requests by relatives to send individual parcels to detainees, largely because there is virtually no awareness of this right and because relatives, at least of Lebanese detainees, still hope for early release.

Fear of Reprisals Against Released Palestinian Detainees

Officials responsible for prisoners' welfare and prisoners' relatives express the fear that released Palestinian detainees may be the target of reprisals by the Lebanese militia elements which Israeli forces allow to operate in occupied South Lebanon. A climate of anti-Palestinian sentiment among many Lebanese would provide the background for such action.

The only incident known to this observer involved some Palestinian detainees under 15 years of age released in the Sidon area in mid-July. ICRC delegates accomodated these boys at a local school while trying to locate and reunite them with their parents. While they were there, Phalangist militia soldiers tried repeatedly, though in the end unsuccessfully, to abduct or "arrest" several of the boys.

"STATUE OF PEACE" IN THE POW CAMP

by Yigal Emanuel

In the course of the Lebanon war, Israeli army soldiers took approximately 8500 Palestinian prisoners, most of whom are being held in prisoner-of-war camps in Lebanon, and several dozen Syrian POWs, who have been transferred to this country. Until now, about 3000 prisoners have been set free.

The riots and restlessness lately characterising the atmosphere at Ansar Camp have resulted in the military authorities' ceasing to release detainees, in spite of the plan to set free an additional 1500.

The POWs ("detainees" in the government's language) at Ansar Camp are jailed in several prison-cages, each one holding about 600 men. They are divided into squads, companies and platoons, and at the head of each group someone is appointed to be responsible — usually an officer in the PLO. Clothes, cleaning utensils, blankets and food are provided in abundance, and the prisoners have access to toilets and field showers. They prepare their meals themselves, and attend to the cleaning and repair of the tent-camp in which they live.

Aside from these chores the prisoners have nothing to do, and some find themselves strange and varied activities. Thus, for example, a "Statue of Peace" was erected in one of the prison-cages — a sculpture made of stone, mortar, and wood, showing a mosque, a church, and synagogue linked together, and above them the word "Peace" in Arabic and English.

The detainees spend the rest of their free time playing backgammon *(shesh-besh)* in casual conversation tensely looking forward to their release. Almost daily, two to four buses arrive at the prison camp, the detainees who have been released climb aboard, and after a short discharge procedure, are taken straight home to Tyre, Sidon or Nabatiya.

At Gemayel's Request

Colonel M., who serves in the camp, explains the criteria which guide the IDF authorities in releasing detainees. "First of all," he says, "we sort out all those who were not active accomplices in planning and carrying out acts of sabotage, and who did not participate in the fighting against us in Lebanon. In addition we try to check the possibility of releasing all the sick and the elderly, and those youths under 18 years of age. Moreover, we get appeals from Amin Gemayel's government or from public bodies in Lebanon and we examine these requests with a tendency to respond favourably."

After the determination of the daily list of those to be discharged, the prisoners undergo an examination and briefing by the "Red Cross," which has a permanent representative in the camp, and then they are loaded onto buses and taken to their town of residence. Every day beginning at 10:00 am dozens of women congregate around the buildings of the military governor in Tyre and Sidon. These women are obviously looking for a brother, a husband or a son who has been arrested. As soon as the bus doors open and the prisoners come out to the governor's building, a chorus of shouts arises — some of the women yelling for joy and others wailing in misfortune. The prisoners meanwhile receive their discharge papers, and then simply leave and go to their homes and families.

Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners

A Heavy Financial Burden

A senior officer at the POW camp estimated the cost of maintenance of the detainees until now, and without taking into account the reserve days of their guards, at tens of millions of shekels. "The burden on the treasury and the army is unbearable, and we are seeking speedy solutions to ease the burden," says the officer. Therefore, aside from the massive release of prisoners, an additional prison camp is now being erected near Aley. After the signing of agreements with Lebanon, about 1500 POWs will be transferred to this camp, and they will be under the sole jurisdiction of the Lebanese army. Several hundred terrorists (the Zionist journalist is referring to *fedayin* — Lebanese and Palestinian guerrilla fighters — (Translator) will be transferred to prisons inside Israel, and the rest, about 2000 prisoners, will remain for the time being at Ansar Camp, and possibly will be used as a basis for exchange of POWs for IDF soldiers taken prisoner by the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

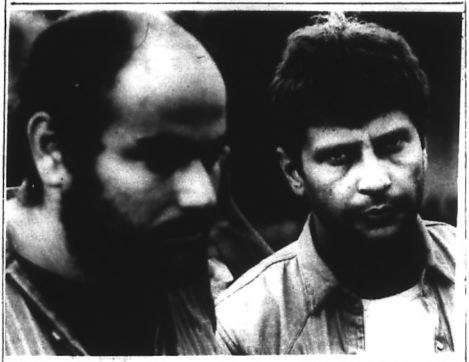
The present prison camp at Ansar is located in an area called the "pound" — and apparently the name is well-deserved. Israeli army and Red Cross sources predict that with the start of the rainy season the camp will become completely flooded and will become a muddy swamp. Therefore the Israeli army has recently built, nearby, new prison cages on sandy limestone bases, in which there will also be drainage facilities and paved walks. The Israeli army is preparing for winter — and is preparing Ansar POW camp for a long stay in the South Lebanon winter. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, November 10, 1982)

Translated by Henry Lowi

Under the Israeli hand

Khamsin: Blowing Hot and Cold

by John Richardson



Left: *Khamsin* director, Daniel Wachsman; right: producer, Jacob Lifshin

The razzmatazz of Hollywood and the Oscars — the US film industry's primary awards — seem a long way away from the quiet Tel Aviv side street where Daniel Wachsman has his home-cum-office. But Wachsman and his movie *Khamsin* — the most talked about Israeli film of the year — may soon be catapulted into that world. The film, a no-holds-barred picture of the current state of Israeli settler-Palestinian relations in the Galilee has been officially nominated by a committee from the ministry of industry and commerce as this year's Israeli entry.

Wachsman, a rather taciturn man, insists that he is non-political, preferring to call himself a working filmmaker in Israel. "How I am in this society," he says, "that's what I'm checking."

His film tells the story of two families, two villages, two communities — the Palestinians and the Israelis. Khaled, a worker, Gadalya, his boss, and Hava, the boss' sister, enjoy a complex relationship of give-and-take. Gadalya's ambition for wealth, Khaled's for a quiet life and Hava's hope for a bucolic idyll all founder on the mushrooming hatred of the moshavniks and concomitant radicalisation of their Arab neighbours.

The movie, which employs straightforward language, has shocked Israelis — witness the silence of the audiences as they leave the cinema. Wachsman calls his movie a mirror. "If you've been in the jungle for a long time and you look in a mirror you'd be shocked to see you've grown a beard. But I live here and I can go and buy a razor and clean up my face." Wachsman expresses confidence that the "base" of the Israeli people is essentially humanistic and that "something will be done."

The film, however, offers no pointers as to a way out. Wachsman agrees with this but insists that it is not an artist's job to provide solutions. He hopes some of the shock of his film will provoke reflection and that people themselves will try to do something about *their* relationships. "The film is about fright. And fright is a vicious circle you can't get out of," says the director. "In some places when the film was shown there was laughter when Arabic music was played. People said it was an 'Arab film.' They're frightened of the Arab culture . . . frightened of the East. This is our problem, we have to learn that we live in the Middle East."

Wachsman is no prophet. "If I was optimistic," he says, I wouldn't have made the film. I don't know what's going to happen and I don't see a solution." He says that a "red line" was paved many years ago and from now on its going to be "more and more difficult to bring things together."

Wachsman says he made the movie primarily for an Israeli audience and takes the criticism that some of the Arab characters may have been not deep enough. "In Nazareth, people told me 'Our fight is not an individual one, our fight is a mass struggle.' I say maybe yes, maybe no. But in the film I show it how I see it, without idealism. There are traitors and good people, idealists and people who just want to make money."

In the cinema in Nazareth, he says, the audience was happy at the beginning of a scene where a Palestinian pulls a knife on his Israeli attackers. "A few seconds later when the Israelis were breaking watermelons on his head, they were quiet. But I think this is reality."

Surprisingly, the making of the film went off without problems. Wachsman seemed surprised to be asked if there were problems or debates during production. He says he and script-writer Dani Verte produced a text and then they shot it. "The only time there were political discussions was when Sadat died. The main Arab character was very happy, while the Israelis couldn't understand it."

Financial Pressures

Aside from the political issues involved, finance for Israeli film has its own problems. Wachsman's US $350,000 film needs a 150-200,000-strong audience to recoup its costs. So far only about one-third of that number have seen it. He's negotiating now with foreign distributors and has fingers crossed that Israel-supporters among the European and US moguls don't squelch it. He thinks the ministry "kosher stamp" might help.

Wachsman has heard some "paranoia" about "what would happen if the *Goyim* (non-Jews) see the film." Though expressing unease about possible foreign reactions, he is rather scathing about the traditional Israeli image as presented through film. "They're 'post cards.' Tiberias, the Galilee, where Jesus walked, where Abraham stood. They want it holy and quiet with little of the war with the natives My movie's not objective, it can't be. But what they want is a salad — some good things and a few bad. It's good for the ego, but not good for a sick body that needs a cancer operation. If I've got cancer, but nice eyes, its no good for a doctor to tell my family 'he's got cancer, but his eyes are beautiful.' What I would need is a quick operation to cut out the growth — nice eyes or not."

In *Transit*, Wachsman's first film, he caused some dismay with his views of a disillusioned immigrant. *Khamsin* blew the lid off a box of secrets. A lot of people here, at least, are looking forward to seeing what he comes up with next.

BIR ZEIT CULTURAL TROUPE TOURS UK

by Daoud Kuttab

A delegation from Bir Zeit University is just back from a successful tour of the United Kingdom. The tour which was sponsored by the National Union of Students in Britain (NUS) took the 22 Palestinians to 12 British colleges and universities, presenting a Palestinian music and dance show and holding a series of discussions. The tour was a return visit for one made by students and staff of a London teacher-training college, St. Mary's, last spring. In the period between October 17 and 31 the group, consisting of 18 students, three university employees and the head of the University's public relations department, traveled over 6400 kilometers. In addition, the Bir Zeit group visited the homes of two British Members of Parliament, both members of the Labour Party's Middle East Council.

Programme

The Bir Zeit University delegation presented a three-part program at all the universities. It started with a musical presentation and *dabke* dance by the *Sanabel* musical group, followed by talks by Imad Sabe' on behalf of the Bir Zeit student council and Albert Aghazarian on behalf of the university.

Walid Abd al-Salam, director of student affairs and artistic director of *Sanabel* told *Al Fajr* about the music and folkloric presentation: "Unlike previous years we tried to include an Eastern touch to the musical presentation, giving greater stress to folk dress, songs and musical instruments." Walid explained that the women in the group wore Palestinian dresses while the men wore *kufiyehs* and Bir Zeit University T-shirts. The musical presentation included two original songs. One, a poem by local poet Asad al-Asad called *Watani* (My Homeland), and the other by Palestinian cartoonist Naji al-Ali called *Tu' Tu' Ta'ieh Ana Bala Hawieh* (I Am Without an Identity). Partial translations to English were provided to audiences. Musical instruments used by *Sanabel* included the *'ud*, (lute) *naye* (flute), Spanish guitar and percussion.

Members of the group said that the changes in the group using oriental and folk instruments was very successful. "This is the most successful trip that Bir Zeit has undertaken," said Nariman Awad, a Jerusalem singer and dancer in the performances. "The folk nature of the songs was a big hit with British students. Many people came up afterwards to look at the instruments and our tapes were reprinted and sold by the hundreds."

Huda Bahjat, another member of the group, said that the trip was "artistically, politically and socially successful. We were able to make many personal friends that can become very successful contacts for the university in particular and the cause in general."

Pots in Britain

The busy nature of the schedule gave little chance for the Palestinians, many of whom were away from their homes for the first time, to be homesick. One common complaint, however, was of terrible food. A surprise, how-

continued on page 11

HISTORY'S JUDGEMENT

A Short Story by Hammad A'Iyian

My father left . . . and I wish he hadn't. He was forced to leave his country, leaving nothing behind except a small sum of money and a piece of land . . . and the few words which he always repeated. Listen to these words . . . listen to the story of what happened to us after his departure and make your judgement. History has made its own judgement.

A while before he left, my father said to us with trust and confidence:

"My children, I charge you with friendship . . . I charge you to love one another. Beware of fighting each other, beware of conflict between you. Harness your energies against the thieves who plunder, burn and murder. Unite . . . for you are brothers and victory is your ally. Beware of fighting each other. this is your legacy, the legacy of your generation, that of your children and your grandchildren. I leave you a sum of money and a small piece of land. It will not make you rich, but it is important. Look after these possessions until I return. Do not turn to the courts to solve your problems, for you are brothers. Be on your guard against fighting each other."

My father left, the last words on his lips:

"You are brothers. Be on your guard against fighting each other."

A week after he left, my brothers and I sat together to discuss how to deal with our possessions . . . but things did not go the way our father had wished.

"I am the eldest and therefore I have the right to two thirds of the property and to deal with it as I please," said my brother Amjad who is five years older than me.

Wasif, who is two years younger than him, immediately said: "And I get a third of the property."

I simply said:

"Calm down a bit."

Amjad said:

"You're young and don't deserve anything."

Wasif said:

"My father will return one day."

Amjad said:

"I will look after you."

Wasif said:

"I will educate you and marry you off. What more do you want?"

Amjad said:

"I will not give up on two thirds."

Wasif said:

"And I will make do with what's left . . . "

"You're not married yet . . . "

I said:

"Our father advised us not to turn to the courts."

Amjad said:

"Turn to them whenever you like."

Wasif said:

"You are small and you don't scare us."

I said:

"I thank you for this excess of affection."

Amjad spoke and Wasif spoke and I spoke . . . after hours of going over and over the same things, we reached no fruitful result. Amjad expressed his opinion and Wasif backed him up vehemently. In short, we did not follow our father's advice at all. No, we did not keep to your good judgement, father. . . and we should have done so. We should have dealt wisely with our property, like he advised us just a short while before:

"Take care of the property until I return. Do not turn to the authorities to solve your problems, for you are brothers. Beware of fighting each other."

In all his life, my father had never said that the small do not have property; neither had he ever said that the eldest got two thirds and the middle one the remaining third. What he had said was that we should look after his possessions wisely until he returned. He had also charged us to love each other and to unite.

When I remembered his advice, I felt overcome with anxiety. What should I do? Go to the court? No! I would make my point again and again to my brothers. Yes, that's what I would do. They are good people and they would be convinced of my views after I'd talked to them again. So I went to them and we talked for hours . . . but they remained unconvinced. Amjad refused to relinquish his two thirds, and Wasif insisted on refusing to give up the remaining third and I had nothing other than the memory of my father. I repeated his advice. The two of them agreed to share the property between themselves. They went to the cupboard where they had put the money and opened it. Inside they found a piece of paper on which was written:

"We knew that you would fight with each other after your father left. So we stole all the money. Do not think about your land either, because from this moment on, it's ours. With our best wishes; good luck! And greetings from thieves everywhere!"

I had expected this to happen and, thank God, for the letter proving that the thieves were the ones who had stolen the money, for I was frightened that they would accuse their young brother of having stolen it. Both of them became dejected and put the blame on me. I wonder if they will unite to confront the danger of the thieves and get their money back? No, they will not unite, for the robbery of the property sprang from their lack of unity!

Translated from Al-Bayader

BZU Troupe ...

continued from page 10

ever, took place when a Palestinian family invited the Palestinians home for a real Palestinian dish. Noted one student: "After living on cheese and boiled eggs we thought there were no pots in Britain."

The response of the various academic communities to the Bir Zeit group was very favorable. Members of the group had no chance to meet ordinary Britons or to see British landmarks or experience British culture. The mostly academic audiences gave the students contact with a mostly sympathetic audience. Palestinians living nearby to many of the universities came to see and according to students were "clutching" every word coming from their fellow Palestinians who live in Ramallah and Jerusalem while they are unable to return there.

Bir Zeit students who went on tour expressed the importance of such events both for the students and for the university. One student said that every year different students should go abroad and gain from the experience that can be provided to them. The students continued that at the same time the presentations attract some people much more effectively than a speech or a newspaper article can.

Twinning

Officially the trip resulted in twinning arrangements between Bir Zeit University and St. Mary's College in Twickenham with plans for future twinning with other colleges and universities. The Bir Zeit Student Union group was handed the official protocol of twinning with the Glasgow University Student Union. Other universities visited were: Ruskin College-Oxford, the London School of Economics, Warwick, Bradford, Durham, Dundee, Sussex Essex, Aston, Cambridge, and the University of London. The Bir Zeit group also attended the annual meeting of the British Friends of Bir Zeit and a plaque of appreciation was presentated to Elizabeth Monroe, prominent British Middle East expert and central member of the FBZ.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The Palestinian papers published in the occupied territories focused this week on the upcoming PLO Central Council meeting, due to take place in Damascus, November 25. Al Fajr daily gave prominence to the "peace document" prepared recently by number of pro-Jordanian West Bank figures. Al Sha'ab carried a detailed news report on the cosmetic amendment of the anti-PLO statement Israel is asking academics to sign. The newspaper reported that foreign faculty members in West Bank universities still refuse to sign any political document that is against the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Among other issues covered by the three dailies was the Algiers summit meeting of PLO Chairman Arafat, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, and President Bin Jedid of Algeria. At the end of the week the Palestinian dailies reported on US envoy Philip Habib's latest shuttle visit to Middle Eastern capitals. They labeled it a "suspicious trip."

ATTEMPTS TO SPLIT THE RANKS

Monte Carlo and Israel Radio reported that US Envoy Philip Habib will carry out during his next visit to Israel a series of meetings with the West Bank mayors to discuss what he has called a peace project, proposed by Reagan, to solve the Middle East problem.

In addition to this, Israel Radio also reported that an invitation was extended to Mustafa Dudeen, the head of the Village Leagues, to visit the US and to give testimony in front of of the US Congressional committees. The reason given for inviting Dudeen was his announced support of the Reagan plan. The observer who attempts to gather the pieces of the picture of the American move towards the area, including also the Israeli move, will see that there is an attempt to split the Palestinian national ranks by beginning a dialogue with those sides who, it is believed, are willing to accept an alternative for the Palestinian legal leadership, the PLO. If not, why then does Middle East envoy Philip Habib want to meet the West Bank mayors while he has always rejected meeting any Palestinian personality abroad and especially during his contacts in Beirut. If any of these people have Palestinian representative status why was Dudeen chosen to travel to the US under the pretext of supporting the Reagan initiative, while there are other people in the occupied Arab territories who express their belief that there are some positive points in this initiative — some of them even sending letters of support for this initiative?

The attempt to go behind the Palestinian legal leadership in search of new addresses and new faces and of beginning a dialogue with them is a waste of time and an elimination of the efforts which would be made in the correct direction in finding an honourable, just solution to the Palestinian issue.

Because of Washington's international responsibilities concerning the case of peace and war in the world and, especially in the Middle East, it must not keep ignoring the demands of our nation and its real will. The smallest US official in the American consulates of the Middle East realises the reality of the Palestinian will and knows that there are basic demands that no Palestinian whatever his opinion or loyalties, will ever abandon, especially the right to Palestinian self-determination, freedom and their own territory.

So, Washington must shorten the effort and time and attempt to deal with the minimum accepted on the Palestinian level and work to achieve peace through the Palestinian sides they are capable of achieving peace, but not through those who are not capable of achieving peace or of fighting.

AL FAJR
November 18

WHAT HABIB WANTS

US President's Special Envoy Philip Habib yesterday started a new tour in the Middle East. This time, Habib comes with new missions that include, in addition to the Lebanese crisis, the revival of the Camp David accords, particularly the part that is relevant to the Palestinian question.

It seems that Reagan has felt that his special envoy has a unique ingenuity after Habib himself had observed most of the stages of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and after the Arab regimes had offered him carte blanche to move since he has become the new friend whom the Arab capitals are waiting for with impatience. They wait for him to show his miraculous ability to solve issues, end disputes and bring about peace to the region.

Philip Habib, whose name has been linked to the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, wants to direct his efforts towards the elimination of the Palestinian cause. He wants to repeat the same former attempts that have failed to ignore the unity of the Palestinian people and their legitimate rights and to repeat the attempts to ignore the already visible facts on the soil of status quo.

The attempts of US imperialism will inevitably fail because they contradict the facts of reality. Habib will discover at the end that he has to openly recognize and admit the Palestinian facts which he knows deep inside himself but always tries to ignore as if trying to cover the sun with a handkerchief.

AL SHA'AB
November 19

BASELESS OPTIMISM

Special US envoy, Philip Habib, is carrying out his talks in the Lebanese capital on the withdrawal of Israeli and other foreign forces from Lebanon. Observers say that this mission includes an attempt at carrying out the initiative of the US President, Ronald Reagan to solve the Palestinian problem. Meanwhile Israel offered a new list of demands to Lebanon as conditions for the withdrawal of its forces from the area. The simplest thing to be used as a description for these conditions is that they contradict Lebanese independence, and the unity of its territory over its waters and territorial skies; by their very nature they are rejected.

Evidence points that Syria, which is the second party with forces in Lebanon, has confirmed its rejection of the idea of both Syrians and Israelis withdrawing at the same time. Syria is still insisting that the Israeli forces withdraw first because the Syrian army is in Lebanon in order to secure it.

If the American envoy will connect his moves concerning the Palestinian issue to the success of reaching a solution for the Lebanese problem we will have to wait for a long time.

It is true that the American and Lebanese officials are optimistic about the withdrawal of foreign forces, but all evidence indicates that this optimism has no basis.

AL QUDS
November 22

THE ONLY EXIT

The focus of the Egyptian public is on the trials of several figures important during the reign of Anwar Sadat. They are accused of political corruption and exploiting their position to gain illegitimate profits.

The trials at first began with figures from the National Party which was established by Anwar Sadat and now headed by President Mubarak. Ismat Sadat, brother of the former president is being tried now and it is expected that Jihan Sadat, Sadat's wife, her brother, multimillionaire Othman Ahmad Othman, and Nabawi Ismail, former interior minister, will also appear before the court.

The Mubarak regime's motives behind exposing these incidents of corruption arouse suspicion. It seems to be an attempt to find a scapegoat for the deteriorating political, social and economic situation in Egypt, and to justify this continuing deterioration in Mubarak's era. The Egyptian president continues to rule his country with the same instruments and policies of Sadat.

Lately Mubarak has taken a more strict position towards the opposition, threatening to cancel the narrow margin of freedom on movement which had been allowed after the assassination of Sadat. This freedom had included permission to issue their newspapers despite the heavy load of oppresive and restrictive laws.

Mubarak's regime tries to separate between Sadat's foreign policy and his internal policy . . He refuses to recognise that the deterioration which led Egypt's poverty to increase is a result of the insistence of the previous president to tie his wagon in blind following to the United States, isolated from the Arab environment.

Israel has provided Mubarak's regime with ample opportunity — with the attack on the Iraqi nuclear plant, the annexation of the Golan, the invasion of Lebanon, the increase in settlements and the case of Taba — to relieve itself of the Camp David chains. But Mubarak has kept up the camouflage, insisting on his commitment to the treaty and placing his absolute trust in the USA. The continuation of this policy will increase the damage to Egypt on all fronts.

The only way to extricate itself from this dark tunnel is by Egypt regaining its historical, nationalist and patriotic role.

AL SHAAB
November 24

No Housing in the Occupied Territories

by Sami al-Aboudi

Rawhiyeh Abdel Karim Abu Aadi shares a two-room house on al-Wad Street in Jerusalem with her nine brothers and sisters, in addition to her parents. Rawhiyeh says that life is unbearably crowded in the house, especially since the 10 children sleep in one room.

The situation is a typical one for more than half the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where existing housing conditions are inadequate and where there are virtually no public housing projects within the financial reach of most people.

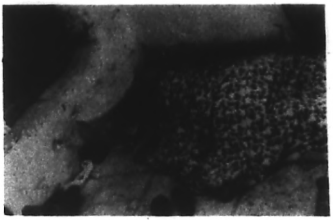
In a study prepared by Bakr Abu Kishek, director of the research centre at Bir Zeit University, the housing crisis is blamed on the fact that the average income of Palestinian residents falls far below the average in Israel.

Ibrahim Daqaq, chairman of the Engineers Union, in a similar study entitled "Managing Housing Projects in the Occupied Territories," lists a number of reasons for the lack of housing

Other difficulties stemming from Israeli measures were inflated land prices and high increases in the cost of home construction. According to Daqaq, the cost of construction for one square meter has risen from JD20 in 1967 to JD80 in 1980. And with the forced closure of Arab-owned banks after the 1967 war, low income residents no longer have a chance of acquiring loans.

The annexation of Jerusalem in imposition of a regional zoning plan on the occupied territories subjugated Palestinian housing needs to Israeli policies. Practically, Israeli land regulations and policies have so far resulted in 1967, almost immediately after the guns were stilled, turned the city without room for expan-

Abu Kishek noted in his study that in the present rate of emigration continues, nearly 270,000 Palestinians — almost 20 percent of the population — will leave the occupied territories between 1980 and 1990. The lack of housing projects also compels the labour force of the occupied territories to seek construction jobs inside Israel.



Child sleeps on ground in front of house/SF

Solutions

At the conference for the Development of a Program of Steadfastness, organised in 1981, Daqaq ended the presentation of his study with suggestions on how to solve the problem. He proposed the establishment of a housing council for the occupied territories which would prepare studies on housing needs, planning, execution and finances.

Information obtained from studies by Ibrahim Daqaq (Managing Housing Projects), Bakr Abu Kishek (Housing Shortages in the Occupied Territories) and Housing Crisis, a report in Al Fajr *(Arabic daily) by Samia Faris.*

Jerusalem Housing Project
A New Way Of Living

by Daoud Kuttab

On the main Jerusalem-Ramallah highway and just past the Jerusalem suburb of Beit Hanina lie two densely populated areas. On the right hand side of the northbound lane lies the Israeli settlement of Neve Ya'akov. On the left *Mashrou' Nusseibeh* (Nusseibeh' housing project). The housing project, begun in 1971 by the engineering office of Muhammad Zaki Nusseibeh, has become the largest Arab housing project in the area. Presently it includes 350 apartments.

At a time when the Israeli occupation looked at all building projects sceptically, Nusseibeh bought a strip of land and started building the first of what have become four housing projects. The first project of 80 small apartments (75 square meters) without heating was sold to all Arab applicants at a price of JD4,500. The severe housing crisis in the Jerusalem area provided the owner and builder with no problem in selling the apartments.

Capital and License

At a time when few Palestinians were able to obtain building permits in Jerusalem, Nusseibeh persisted until he obtained the permit for the first project. "The workings of the Jerusalem municipality were quite new to us at first. A man called Meron Benvenisti (deputy mayor) was willing to help us and he showed us around giving us all the help we needed until we got the permit," said engineer Nusseibeh. Nusseibeh explains that the procedures and conditions for obtaining subsequent building permits have become much more difficult.

Buying property, drawing up the engineering plans and contracting the building of a housing project is no easy feat. The Nusseibeh firm did all that. "We were able to borrow money from an Israeli bank and some of the apartments were sold before they were built," explains Nusseibeh who denies accusations by many Palestinians of having received direct aid from the Israelis in order to provide an outlet for the Palestinians that were being evicted by the Israelis from the Old City.

Central Heating Yes, District Heating No

After the success of the first housing project a second 80 apartment project was erected in 1973-74. In 1976-77 a third 64 apartment project was built. Unlike the first project, the second and third projects had a built-in central heating system. According to the apartment contract of sale the tenants are expected to elect a committee which would take charge of various maintenance needs. (The first years' maintenance is provided by the builder). Tenants in the second and third projects were unable to agree amongst themselves to provide the money needed to run the district heating system. "I tried to convince the tenants that it would be cheaper than individually heating the apartments but to no avail," said Nusseibeh. George Freij, former head of the tenants committee of the second project, rejected Nusseibeh's argument. "The district boilers were just unable to properly heat the five buildings. Tenants on the third and fourth floors simply got little heat in their apartments." While planning the fourth housing project which was built in 1979-80, Nusseibeh rectified this problem by putting central heating systems in each building rather than one district heating system that was to provide for a whole 80 apartment project. "By reducing the number of people that have to agree together we solved the problem. Residents of 11 out of the 14 buildings in the fourth housing project agreed amongst themselves and have hooked up their heating systems," boasted Nusseibeh.

Matchboxes

Tenants for the Nusseibeh housing project include a cross section of the Jerusalem population. Although the building and designers' plans had called for "the best apartment possible for the cheapest price," the designers erred when they built wry small apartments. Tenants' complaints about the smallness of the apartments were listened to by the management. From an apartment size of 75 square metres in the first project, the second and third projects saw apartments enlarged to 85 meters. In the fourth project, which contained 112 apartments, half were 97 square meters and 56 apartments were 117 square meter, two bedroom to three bedroom apartments. "No matter what the size of the family purchasing an apartment they always wanted bigger apartments, even with the higher cost," explained Nusseibeh. The apartments that were sold for JD4,500 were the smaller size. Increase in building costs and new conditions for building also helped to raise the price.

Tenants complaints

"There is no park, no club, no store, no nursery and no transportation," complained Mahmoud and Fadwa Khaled, parents of three children. Muhammad Nusseibeh blames the Kollek municipality for not providing services and for not having any town planning scheme for the Arab sector of the city (settlements not included). Nusseibeh told *Al Fajr* that the Jerusalem municipality has ignored a town planning scheme drawn up by the British engineer Kendal who was commissioned by the Arab Jerusalem municipality before 1967. As to the lack of stores the design of the last three projects did not include any stores "because the stores designed and built in the first project could not keep afloat. It seems that the tenants preferred to buy from the Old City where the prices are cheaper," explained the builder.

Nusseibeh explains that the idea of tenant committees is a new concept to our society. "Although in cities and villages many families lived next to each other, the housing project has not produced any positive social relations. Unlike the villages and crowded cities where the families grouped by virtue of family relations, in the housing project we have people from different social, economic and family backgrounds."

Ibrahim Nassar, an active Jerusalem lawyer who is under town arrest, quarrelled with his neighbours over whether to keep the outside door open or not. His neighbours, a conservative family from Hebron, wanted the outside door closed "because we have women here." Freij defended the tenants and their committees, explaining that there is only so much they could do, "If the basics are not provided by the builder or the municipality the committee's work will be useless." Freij pointed out, for example, the need for supportive walls, sidewalks and garden plots. "The tenants have shown their interest in cleaning up the area with the two voluntary work campaigns we had. But the clean up work is worthless after the first rainfall." Freij explained that he is planning to go to court demanding that either the Jerusalem municipality or Nusseibeh provide some of the basic needs that are required by law. Freij also pointed out that most buildings did not have an outside door to them.

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Visa Denied for Armenian Archbishop:

OPPOSITION TO EXPULSION GROWS

Israel's Religious Affairs Minister, Yosef Burg, continues to refuse to grant the Armenian Grand Sacristan Kazanjian an extension of his residence visa despite growing opposition in the local religious community and Christians abroad.

Burg shunned a delegate from the Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian Church and agreed only to speak to him by telephone.

Archbishop Serope Manookian, head of the Armenian church of West Europe, arrived in Jerusalem, November 17, as a representative of the Supreme Patriarch Vasken I to look into the matter of Israel's refusal to grant Archbishop Karekian Kazanjian a new visa.

After repeated rebuffs Burg finally agreed to speak to Manookian.

Al Fajr learned that in a 10 minute telephone conversation Burg assured Manookian that he "never intended to expel Archbishop Kazanjian." Despite Manookian's official request that the Armenian church be told why the Israeli government refuses the visa request, Burg still refused to give them. Archbishop Manookian has since left Jerusalem to report the result of his mission to the Supreme Patriarch.

The Armenian community in Jerusalem has been indignant over local press involvement in what they consider an internal church controversy. Archbishop Ajamian began the campaign with a letter to *The Jerusalem Post*, November 22, in which he claimed that Archbishop Manookian's mission from the Supreme Patriarch was to look into his dismissal. Ajamian, who was expelled from the brotherhood last year, has announced that he is suing the Armenian Patriarch in Jerusalem for damages that resulted following the publication of an ad in a Jordanian newspaper.

Archbishop Serope Manookian denied Ajamian's allegations in a rebuttal letter to the *Post*, November 24. In it Manookian said he was instructed to study the case of Kazanjian only.

The Israeli dailies *Maariv* and *Yediot Ahranot* and the Arabic daily *Al Quds* have, church sources say, contributed to a campaign which has diverted attention away from the main issue of visa extension. *Maariv* reported November 23 that "according to reliable sources Archbishop Kazanjian will be allowed to stay for two months grace period in order to be in the country for Christmas celebrations." The Hebrew newspaper also alleged that Kazanjian, who has no official connection with Jordan, had visited the country 25 times in the past year.

KARMON'S POLICY GUIDELINES FOR WEST BANK

The acting head of the civil administration in the West Bank, Yigal Karmon issued a directive in which he announced new guidelines of policy to be adopted in the West Bank, November 16. In it he wrote that the authorities should continue to strenuously neutralise the supporters of Jordan in the West Bank and to force them into subordination to the civil administration. In connection to the pro-Jordan group it was said in the directive that since Jordan stopped administering their affairs (following the 1974 Rabat Summit) they found themselves more pro-PLO out of compulsion.

The directive talked about a number of figures who have adopted moderate political behavior and are absolutely subordinate to Jordan. They will not take any step without Jordan's agreement, the directive said, and therefore, they must be strenuously neutralised to bring them to rely on the civil administration.

In the directive it was said that the way of dealing with the radical mayors who represent the rejection front will be "the continuation of the struggle . . . this endless struggle, and we should continue to stick to it." The people of this group, said the directive, are actually the members of the "National Guidance Committee," the group which received a major blow between November 1981 and April 1982.

Another group which the directive discusses, is defined as "a group which we (the civil administration) started – the people of the Village League and moderate mayors who have been appointed. These are not tied to outside, but they are dependent on us." Regarding this group, the way of dealing with them is to continue to give them massive help and support.

Regarding the group of the local employees of the military government who number 12,000, among whom 400 are senior and 50 are more senior, according to the directive, they should become civil administration employees, which would be similar to their efforts towards the Village League.

Besides this, it was said that the administration should back them for political purposes for political use in the future. It was also said in the directive, in connection with the way use should be made of the government employees, that those who cause any harm to the order should be fired while positive ones should be given maximum support, including salary raises and personal upgrading. On this subject it was added: "It should be stressed that the aim is not an upgrading for the person himself, but for achieving political objectives and for political activation of these people." The directive also said that the commissioners of the districts "will have to prepare weekly reports on how the negative elements were dealt with in the national and pro-Jordan groups."

The directive was submitted to the governors of the districts in the West Bank last month. (Translated, from Ha'aretz)

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HOUSING...

Although there is unanimity as to the housing shortage and the need in the Jerusalem Arab community for a project such as the Nusseibeh one, some Jerusalem residents still argue that the project is "like a double edged sword." On the one hand, they say, it provides for a need and on the other hand it provided the Israeli government with a suitable outlet to which it could send the Palestinians being evicted from the Old City. Muhammad Nusseibeh vehemently denies the charges. "Most of those who were evicted from the Old City live in Ram; only ten families out of 350 are from the Old City."

Driving around the four housing projects Nusseibeh lamented about the Arab countries' apathy during the past years in providing funds for such projects. "Land has become scarce, building conditions have become unbearable. There should have been thousands of apartments built when it was still early." Looking at the French Hill, Ramat Eshkoul and Neve Ya'acov settlements, Nusseibeh said, "It is too late now."

Upon leaving the housing project, Muhammad Nusseibeh looked at the kids playing and enjoying themselves and said "I feel happy when I see that, I am proud of this project."

Kiryat Arba Settlers Rearrested

Two Kiryat Arba settlers, Zeev Friedman and Shalom Rosenthal, were charged in Jerusalem District Court, Tuesday, November 16, with destroying a bomb, which was found in the local council building in the settlements, and possession of illegal weapons.

The bomb, according to speculation in the Israeli press, was of the same type as the bombs which were placed in the cars of Bassam Shaka'a and Karim Khalaf, mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, in 1980. According to a report in *The Jerusalem Post*, the bomb was found in a cavity in the wall of the council building six months ago when an electrician came to fix new power lines. The bomb was described as sophisticated and was wrapped in newspapers of the day of the assassination attempts. The allegation against the two men, who were first arrested a month ago but released after 48 hours, is that they destroyed the bomb in case it was used as evidence against Israelis.

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CENSORSHIP REPORT

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for Issue No. 133, November 19, 1982:

Number of original articles sent to censorship	34
Number of articles totally censored out	11
Number of articles partially censored but used	3
Number of articles passed	20

JENIN BUS STATION TORN UP BY 'MUNICIPALITY'

by Said al-Ghazali

Municipal workers in Jenin, acting on orders of Shihab al-Sanori, since last July the appointed mayor, dug up the 60.by 50 metre bus station in Jenin, November 9. The 'council' announced bus company owners refuse to pay the newly imposed JD45 fees for each bus per month. Three days before the destruction of the lot, whose entrances were blocked with stones and piles of dirt, a 10-member delegation representing the bus companies met Shihab al-Sanori, and asked him to cancel the new fees. The Jenin bus station was known as the best organised transport centre in the West Bank.

. . . . . .

The bus companies owners then appointed Israeli lawyer, Sabar Ghour, from Tel Aviv who has sent, they say, letters to occupation headquarters at Beit El and al-Sanori, saying that the fees are so high that the owners of the companies cannot pay them. Abd al-Qader al-Feneiri, director of Nablus 27 line and other companies told *Al Fajr* the bus station was bulldozed in reaction to the lawyer's letter. It is now impossible for buses to park in the area, he says.

Bus drivers have to find parking spaces in the streets. Already there are many complaints of Israeli police harassment. Most buses have been fined for unlicensed parking in the streets, drivers say. In reaction to these harassments the bus drivers have struck for four days fearing that their driving licenses will be cancelled if they are repeatedly fined. Jenin Bus Company owners published an open letter in *Al Quds* daily newspaper, November 16, complaining of the bulldozing. The owners told *Al Fajr* that the problem started three months ago when the Israeli appointed committee rented out the bus station to a private contractor. The unprecedented step led to an immediate nine-fold increase in rentals. Bus operators note that in the past the council ran the station as a public service. The contractors, they say, wanted to make as much money as possible. On November 17, a 10-member delegation of the bus companies met Amir Zeid, the military governor in Jenin, and demanded that orders be given to the police not to fine drivers until the conflict is settled. On the same day, al-Faneiri said, two bus drivers from his company were fined.

Mayor of Qalqilya, Zahran Hasoun, Yonis Hontoli, and Fathe al-Qamhawi, the chairman of the local Chamber of Commerce, were asked to intervene to find a compromise. Ten bus companies Arabeh, Qabatya, Romaneh Rabs, al-Jalameh, Meythaloun, al-Sileh, Barqeen, Yamoun and al-Zababdehasked are involved in negotiations. On the same day, however, the appointed military municipal committee advised the owner of a cafeteria in the bus station to remove the windows because "the municipal committee is going to destroy the refreshment stand."

Deposed mayor of Jenin, Ahmad Shawqi al-Mahmoud told *Al Fajr*, "Either this act is out of craziness or the Israeli authorities intended to confiscate the land on which the bus station was built." The mayor explained that the Latin Convent in Jerusalem gave the land to the municipality of Jenin for the bus station in 1962 or for other public interest. This means, said the deposed mayor, that the convent has the right to take the land back if the appointed committee uses the area for building offices for the municipality.

SHOW ME THE WAY TO GO HOME

The residents of four towns: Qabatya, Yabbad, Arabeh, and Tubas and 60 villages were affected by damaging the lot of the bus station. Most people who talked to *Al Fajr* did not give their names for fear that al-Sanori will cut electricity and water in revenge for their talking to the press. All, however, spoke bitterly about the "vandalism." An electrician who has a shop near the devastated bus station told *Al Fajr*: "If I give my name, I will expose myself to the revenge of the appointed dictator of the city. He has executed punishments on many individuals of the city." Fakhri Sharif, money changer at the bus station described the destruction to *Al Fajr* as "an unimaginable and unbearable terrorist action practised by the head of the municipal committee. There are at least 100 families whose breadwinners sell *falafel* or sweets who are affected by the damage."

Um Mustafa from Aneen village, 30 km west of Jenin told *Al Fajr* "I used to put my heavy shopping in the station but now I run from one place to another carrying bundles on my head to catch the bus for my village in one corner of a deserted street. This action is terrible."

Ayed Ibrahim Abu Libdeh who sells *falafel* from a carriage told *Al Fajr*, "Before the destruction of the lot I used to sell at least 150 sandwiches a day, but now my maximum sale is 10."

Students Step-Up Opposition to New Exam

Students of Ramallah vocational centres (the Government Teachers Training Institute for Women, Teachers Training Centre for Women in Tireh and Vocational Training Centre in Kalandia) held a protest conference November 22, and decided to send a delegation representing the national institutions in the West Bank and the vocational institutes to meet the officers of the ministry of education in Amman to demand cancellation of a new comprehensive exam.

The comprehensive exam was imposed last year as a mandatory requirement before any diploma e from the vocational centres would be certified by the Jordanian Ministry of Education. The exam is administered after students end their course work, and consists of five or six tests arranged by the Ministry's local comprehensive exam committee headed by Walid Abu Ghazaleh. Students who do not pass the exam could have their certificates withdrawn.

Several telegrammes from the national institutions and the directors of the vocational institutes were sent to the participants of the conference in which they asked students to be firm in their attitude of refusing the comprehensive exam.

Ghada Qumsieh, a second year student at the Teachers Training Centre, told *Al Fajr*, "In my opinion . . . if we consider the positive side of the application of this exam, we can say that the exam improves the academic level of the students. But if we study the objectives behind imposing the comprehensive exam, we find that they are unjust. The concentration on theoretical academic aspects in the exam is most dangerous. A teaching graduate will sacrifice understanding of teaching method in order to study courses for the comprehensive exam. If they pass, then he or she would become a teacher without enough training. We should use all possible means to stop this exam."

Ali Khalili, a freshman at Qalandia Training Centre said, "When the comprehensive exam was imposed in the vocational centres in the West Bank, local conditions regarding the students were ignored. They did not consider the waves of arrests or the repeated closure of the vocational centres.

A similar wave of protests swept the vocational centres in the West Bank early in 1982, when the Jordanian Ministry of Education decided to apply this exam in 28 vocational institutes in Jordan and six institutes in the West Bank. Last year students' opposition obliged the Israeli civil administration and Jordanian officials to freeze the comprehensive exam.

However, heads of vocational institutes were asked to collect the exam fees two weeks after the beginning of the scholastic year; JD6 per student as initial fees and JD3 for every examination paper.

Students at Hebron Polytechnic Institute and Najah University began the current wave of protests last week with sit-in strikes, November 14 and 15.

Jamal Tal'at Safadi, (left), 8 years, arrested for "distribution of prohibited books" in his father's "Scientific Bookshop," Gaza.

The list of bookshops raided, and owners who have been arrested, fined, imprisoned or had their shops sealed during the last year include: Hani Abu Ghdeib, Ghazi Abu Kishek, Nadia al-Kondarji (Nablus); Subhi Shahrurri (Tulkarm); Assad al-Assad, Yusef Jou'beh (Ramallah), Kadoura Musa (Jenin); Jamil Abu Arafeh, Ibn Rushed and Salah al-Din presses (Jerusalem); al-Ansar (Acre) and Mahmoud Gharbawi, Muhammad al-Arour, and Jamal and Tal'at Safadi (Gaza).

PUTTING THE LID ON DEMOCRACY

By Yehoshua Suvul

The demand of the military government of 120 lecturers in West Bank academic institutions to sign a declaration dissociating themselves from the PLO, is a demand whose reason has no place in a democratic state. The threat of expulsion which hangs over hundreds of lecturers who refused to sign the declaration, and the actual expulsion of some of the lecturers, testify to the character of this regime under which we live: it continues to take on the character of a totalitarian regime and suppresses individual freedom and free expression.

The basis, to the declaration amendment which was made yesterday by the defense minister is only a shrewd tactic, since article no. 5 of the amended undertaking leaves the authorities the opportunity to make specific conditions with each lecturer separately.

The signs of suppression of individual freedom and free expression are growing and spreading in every sphere of life. The harsh censorship and its aggressive interference in the theatre, the McCarthyite atmosphere and the witchhunt in the IDF Radio, the disturbing and unceasing intervention of the broadcasting authority in the free reporting of radio and TV, are all symptoms and signs of the degeneration of Israeli democracy and its descent towards totalitarianism.

The atmoshpere in the country is becoming more and more claustrophobic and suffocating. If anyone had thought that it was possible to hold a community of 700,000 Palestinains for fifteen years without citizenship or civil rights and yet not to limit freedom of expression or damage Israeli democracy, he can now know that he was mistaken. The occupation, if it continues, will finally put the lid on our democracy.

The fight for democratic values and free expression does not begin in IDF radio or in censorship against the theatre: the fight should begin with the roots of the disease, in the nucleus from which the cancer cells run into the blood circulation, in the occupation itself.

Perhaps it is no accident that manifestations of the rise of totalitarianism are to be seen in the occupied areas. The fact that the attempt to limit the freedom of the lecturers aroused the world press and even the response of the US Secretary of State George Shultz, stems from the fact that these lecturers and the academic world in general have strong ties with the news media, as well as being very articulate. It is natural that any harm against them would cause widespread coverage in the news media. In connection with this, we must remind ourselves that for many years, human liberties have been denied to hundreds of thousands of Palestinians — villagers, farmers and simple workers — who have no strong ties with the news media, and the harassments they do suffer do not win international resonance.

Confiscation of Lands, and, Confiscation of Rights

For many years, since the Likud took power, a massive campaign of land confiscation has been taking place. Land expropriation is intended in the first place to create land reserves for setting up villa-neighbourhoods, townships and municipal settlements, which are intended to draw Jewish settlers into the heart of the West Bank.

Secondly the extensive land expropriation campaign is aimed at closing off the Arab villages and transforming them into ghettoes. This is achieved by robbing the villages of their reserve lands which are needed to meet their expansion requirements.

This policy of robbery has dual objectives: to create conditions for intensified Jewish settlement in the occupied territories so that it can never be removed and at the same time to block the development of the Arab villages, to hamper their progress and to suffocate them in order to encourage the emigration of Arabs from the West Bank across the river or across the sea.

In response to the claim of "demographic danger" which the opponents of annexation used to wave, the advocates of creeping annexation in the Likud can today point out that this danger doesn't exist. Under the pressure of the conditions which they produced in the West Bank, emigration from the West Bank grew, which in turn diminishes natural growth. Within the Likud, they are pleased that a kind of inconspicuous expulsion is taking place in the West Bank, away from the news media.

Who Emigrates?

Of course the ones who emigrate are the skilled and educated, not yet bound to family, who can earn their livelihood abroad or in the Gulf States. The educated young people are the sector of the community for whom it is easy to emigrate, and they are the very ones whom the proponents of annexation most want to get rid of, since they are the most politically active and have most to contribute to the community. If this trend continues and increases, the West Bank will become what the advocates of Eretz Israel want it to be: a reservoir of black market labourers with no civil rights or social protection. Since the Palestinian workers are the fuel for Israeli production, the educated Palestinian is liable to be only a troublesome spanner in the works of the policy of annexation and denial of rights. What kind of colonialism needs the educated sons of the exploited and enslaved people?

Hell for Two Peoples

This is the surface situation. The pressure on the lecturers and their expulsion from the country are a policy which is intended to paralyze the universities and eradicate the Palestinian intelligentsia. This is a part of selective expulsion, a colonialist policy which aims to turn the West Bank into a ghetto of hewers of wood and drawers of water, domesticated and tamed, and to banish remnants of freedom of expression, and aspiration to independence and rights.

It is not necessary to be a leftist or radical in order to revolt against such an oppressive policy. It is enough to be a moderate liberal to understand that the expulsion of lecturers is a stage in the malignant process by which the relations between the Israeli people and its neighbouring Palestinian people are becoming steadily more hostile and continue to take the form of relations between masters and servants. A people of masters is not a free people: This is a people of policemen and soldiers. Whoever has the hope of living free in this country will not be able to tolerate the lecturers' expulsion, the paralyzing of the universities, the suppression of the liberties of the Palestinian people, as well as land expropriation and the transformation of this people into servants.

Those who believe that the oppression of the Palestinian people serves Zionism are mistaken. The opposite is correct. When Israel turns into a totalitarian state, and its society into a colonialist society, its power of attracting Jews diminishes. . . . . .

. . . . . .

For some years Jews have ceased to immigrate to Israel and even stopped coming for visits.

Whoever plots to turn this country into a hell for one of the two peoples will turn it into a hell for all the people living in it. (Translation: Al-Hamishmar, November 23, 1982)